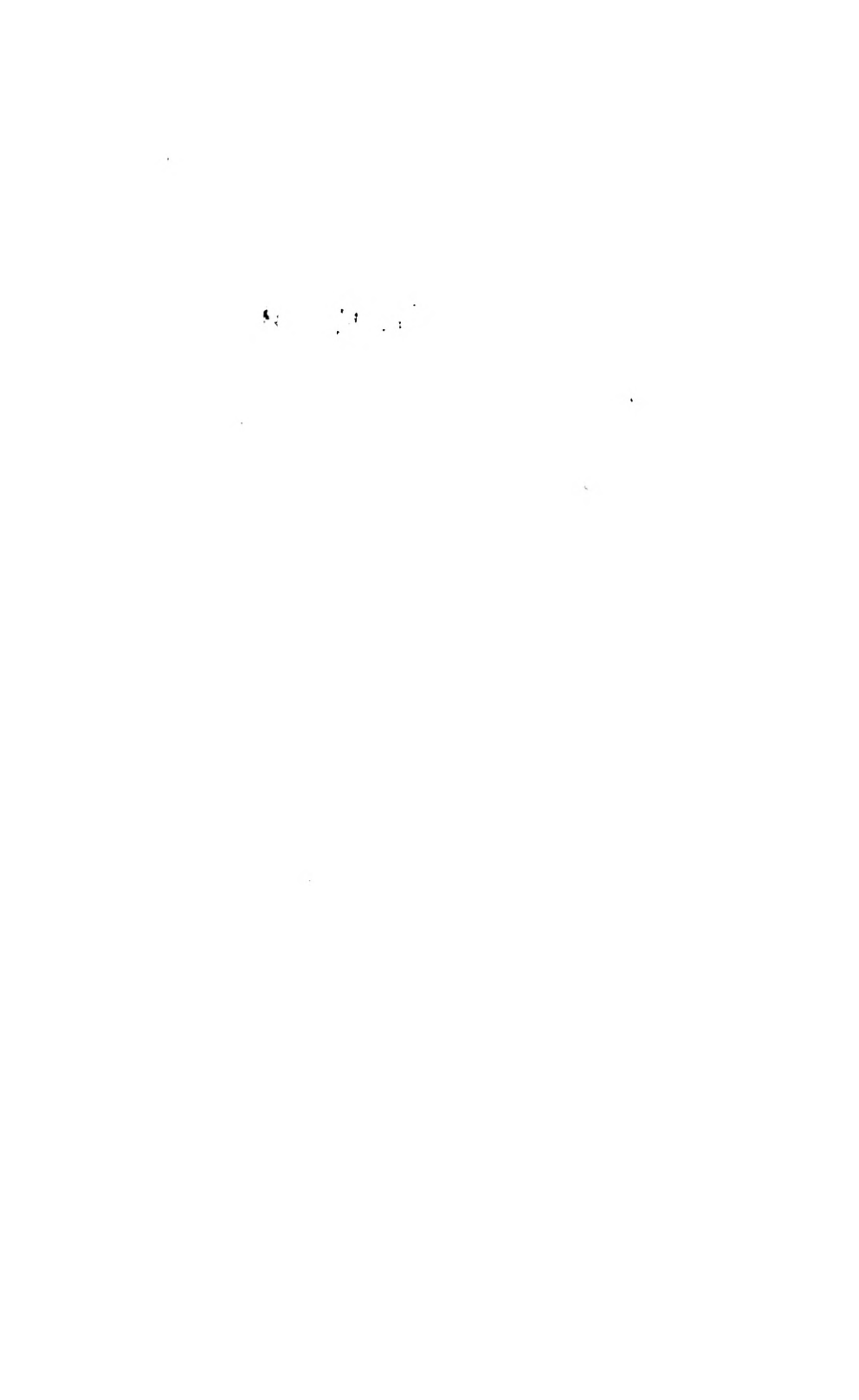


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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 220

PROVIDING FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST
PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

PART I—VOLUME No. 5

DECEMBER, 1930



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1931

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SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN
THE UNITED STATES

HAMILTON FISH, Jr., New York, *Chairman*

JOHN E. NELSON, Maine.

CARL G. BACHMANN, West Virginia.

| EDWARD E. ESLICK, Tennessee.

| ROBERT S. HALL, Mississippi.

WALTER L. REYNOLDS, *Clerk*

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PROVIDING FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1930

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 o'clock, a. m., Hon. Hamilton Fish, jr., (chairman) presiding.

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM B. REID

(The witness was duly sworn by the Chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. State your full name.

Doctor REID. Dr. William B. Reid.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor Reid, from where do you come?

Doctor REID. Rome, N. Y., sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an American citizen?

Doctor REID. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made a study of communist activities in this country?

Doctor REID. Yes, sir; and abroad.

The CHAIRMAN. And abroad?

Doctor REID. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For how many years?

Doctor REID. Since 1917, intensively. I have been interested in sociology since I was a young man, as a hobby.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you represent any organization?

Doctor REID. I do not, sir. I am appearing here as an individual, a scientist, with no ax to grind, pro or con, and would like to know, as your committee and the country would like to know, regarding the activities of communism.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made any study of the activities of the communists in the colleges and universities of the country?

Doctor REID. I have, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any statement you would like to furnish the committee in regard to the activities in those colleges, or other communist activities in the country?

Doctor REID. I would like to enter this whole statement. It will take about 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a prepared statement?

Doctor REID. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection by the committee, you may proceed in your own way. The Chair hears none.

Mr. BACHMANN. It is on that question of the activity in the colleges?

Doctor REID. Yes; it covers that. As I stated to you, sir, my profession is a surgeon. It has been said that he is fortunate indeed who is skilled enough to have an avocation in life, and extraordinarily fortunate is the one whose avocation proves serviceable to himself and to others.

My vocation is a surgeon. I practiced in civil hospitals and military hospitals in this country and abroad, for 30 years. I had charge of Hospital No. 61 in the World War over at Bordeaux. I want to inject right here, gentlemen, that I spent more than an hour with your chairman last Friday and it was a most enjoyable and enlightening thing to me. While I think all of you know something about it, I want to extend to you my compliments for the manner in which you have proceeded and the material you have collected, and the wonderful way it has been assembled. Furthermore, I am not only a citizen of the United States, but I am a taxpayer and I am mighty grateful for the little bit my share will contribute to this splendid work you gentlemen are doing. I feel in a way I am "carrying coals to Newcastle"; however, I think I have some new material, particularly on that question of colleges, that you have not assembled in your material.

In this written statement—I will just cover that briefly—is the mention of Clarence Day's essay entitled "This Simian World," and he brings out the point while we are descendants from the higher monkey race, we inherit both the liabilities and the assets. One of the greatest assets we have is the characteristic of investigation—monkeying. We have been doing that with the people of the United States to a considerable extent as to the license, rather than liberty, regarding the freedom of the press, and so forth, and I have called your particular attention here to the propaganda that is going on throughout the country in regard to this very subject.

Now propaganda is all right in its place, educationally; but what I object to, or what should be objected to, rather, is the false, misleading, and untruthful propaganda that is going on. So I want to enter here, as Exhibit No. 1, into your record, a picture of this subversive communistic work I have put up here before you.

(The picture above referred to was marked as an exhibit, "Reid No. 1.")

Exhibit No. 2 is an illustration in McCall's Magazine for this month, December—and it will take me only just a second to call your attention to one paragraph in particular of the untruthful, misleading, and false statement that is written regarding this thing. This is laudatory of this thing. May I give you just a sentence? Listen to this—

Mr. BACHMANN. Who is the author of it?

Doctor REID. This is entitled "Meet the Smiths—of Russia."

Mr. BACHMANN. Who wrote the article?

Doctor REID. Helen Christine Bennett.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you know who she is?

Doctor REID. I do not.

Mr. BACHMANN. In what periodical does it appear?

Doctor REID. McCall's Magazine.

Mr. BACHMANN. Of what date?

Doctor REID. For this month, December, 1930. I am entering this as a part of your record. This says:

* * * In Russia to-day women may vote and hold office, with none of the discriminations found in other countries. She has equal sex rights and privileges; she may marry and divorce at will; she has equal rights in her children and all her children, born in wedlock or out, are legitimate. She may do anything a man may do without stigma. She is free as no woman in the world has ever been free—as man is free.

That is absolutely false, for this reason: She does not vote as our women do; they are discriminated against. The Bolshevik Party has a total membership (according to the latest figures I have) of around 165,000. Now cut down the women vote and you will get my point. And she is not free. In regard to sex liabilities, she is bound by the same biological and physiological laws as other human beings. She can not be free; she has to have those obligations and, on this point right here, the United States Public Health Service, last year, reported over a million cases of active syphilis in the United States and, if she may bear children at will, so-called free love, I point out to you what will happen during a very, very short period.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps I misunderstood you, but I understood you said there were 165,000 members of the Communist Party?

Doctor REID. Of voters; legal voters in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not every communist a legal voter?

Doctor REID. No, sir; not if he is not an atheist.

The CHAIRMAN. Well they are all atheists; you can not remain in the party a minute unless you are an atheist. I am satisfied and the committee has been given to understand, generally, there are two million and a half communists in Russia, and the figures you present, 165,000, are entirely new.

Doctor REID. My figures are seven years old.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, then, we have no dispute.

Mr. ESLICK. The communist to be a voter, though, must be an atheist, must he not, Doctor?

Doctor REID. That is true.

Mr. ESLICK. In other words, atheism is a condition precedent to all things communistic, is it not?

Doctor REID. Correct, sir. And have I made that sufficiently clear, that these people in the abolition of the home have the privilege of changing mates at will, simply by going down to the civic center, wherever it may be, and erasing their names from the book. Now, I have overdrawn that; their recent law is that they may not change mates oftener than three times in five years.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a recent law?

Doctor REID. It was.

The CHAIRMAN. What law is that?

Doctor REID. Well, it came out here within the last two or three years. I have a copy of it; I think it is in those exhibits.

Mr. ESLICK. Our information is, Doctor, they can marry only 30 times in 10 years. Is not that it?

The CHAIRMAN. I understood that was the law; I do not know.

Mr. ESLICK. I say that was stated to us as the law.

Doctor REID. The point I want to make is that in a country that has monogamy, as we have here, and considering we have the most

wonderful public health laws in the world, yet we have listed over one million active cases of syphilis in this country, and for God's sake who will attempt to say what will happen if you turn everybody loose and allow them to change mates every year. Professional men are trying to stop that very thing by legislation and education, and feel very proud of what we did in the World War with the men we took over there and the percentage of men who returned just as healthy as they went away. Have I made that point clear?

I want to call your attention—you are speaking about the work that is going on in the colleges—to this magazine here (exhibiting). I am entering that as an exhibit. On page 23 is a report of the National Students Conference by Rubin Levin, in Milwaukee, Wis., during the new year vacation.

MR. BACHMANN. What is the date of that pamphlet you are speaking about?

Doctor REID. This was in 1927.

MR. BACHMANN. And what is it? I want you to say for the record what it is?

Doctor REID. It is the Haldeman-Julius Quarterly Magazine.

(The article above referred to was marked as an exhibit, "Reid No. 3.")

At that meeting, there were 3,000 young men and women delegates, who were representatives of 700 colleges and universities in the United States. That is taken from their own statement. This is offered as another example of how communism is working in our universities, building communism with noncommunist hands, so to speak. And in that meeting, they stressed particularly the sex problem and there is a picture of two young ladies there [exhibiting]. That certainly could not have been a disagreeable subject.

Exhibit No. 4 is offered as another exhibit illustrating how the socialists succeed in teaching communism to the students of our universities.

MR. BACHMANN. Let us get it identified here: What is Exhibit No. 4?

Doctor REID. It is offered as an illustration of how the socialists succeed in teaching communism to students of our universities.

MR. BACHMANN. I know; but what is the pamphlet you have there?

Doctor REID. It is the program of such meetings in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

MR. BACHMANN. What is the date of it?

Doctor REID. December 28 to 30, 1927.

MR. BACHMANN. Will you mark that as an exhibit?

(The paper above referred to was marked as an exhibit, "Reid No. 4.")

Doctor REID. I attended as a delegate and personally witnessed the activities of the Annual Intercollegiate Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy in New York City. It had for its general topic The Student and the Social Order. That meeting was held in room 301, The Hall of Philosophy, in Columbia University. I want to enter here what I heard there. I heard Dr. Harry F. Ward, who is the professor of religious ethics in Union Theological Seminary, in New York City, on December 28, 1927, in discussing the subject Present Day Capitalism in America, make the insinuation that

armed revolution was the only remedy effective against present-day injustices as he saw them. It happened in his description of the miners' strike in Colorado. After criticising labor injunctions and describing the efforts of the Civil Liberties Union to help the striking miners through its legal department, he then raised his hands and said, "Well, what next?" We all understood what he meant.

Mr. BACHMANN. Where is he now?

Doctor REID. He is in New York, still teaching religious ethics in the Union Theological Seminary. It is right up in the hall, right next to Columbia University.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you know how many students attend that college?

Doctor REID. No, I do not. It is an old institution.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is it a large one?

Doctor REID. Yes, sir; very large.

The CHAIRMAN. It is one of the largest?

Doctor REID. It is one of the largest of its kind. It is a theological seminary, one of the largest, if not the largest.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is the best known?

Doctor REID. Well, it is very well known. On December 29, 1927, at the same meeting, an invitation was extended to the delegates to attend a buffet dinner which was to be held at the home of Norman Thomas, No. 118, East Eighteenth Street, New York City. I accepted the invitation and attended the dinner with from 80 to 100 other student delegates. After the dinner, we were shown a moving picture of Social and Industrial Russia. The picture which was shown included the Kremlin and its surroundings, also Lenin's tomb. The caption over the entrance of the Kremlin which read thus, "Religion is an Opiate for the People," had been expurgated by our own censor before the picture was allowed to be exhibited in this country. This fact was explained in detail, with criticism by Norman Thomas, which provoked a great deal of merriment, cat calls, and so forth, among all of us there. After the moving picture had been shown, an evening of singing and an open forum on communism was held. A general discussion of communism, socialism, and kindred subjects was headed by Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, Robert Morss Lovett, and others whose names I do not know. They were strangers to me. The opinions on communism and its ideals were all of a favorable tone. During the musical, the songs that I have offered in that exhibit, were sung with much gusto, particularly the Internationale (song No. 3), and the Red Flag (song No. 11), the two most well-known communistic songs.

Your attention is further invited to the article Harry Laidler's Activities, on page 2 of the News Bulletin. He has gone through the country extensively and continually and in that particular report I think he cites 180 lectures to colleges and universities he had given.

Mr. BACHMAN. Is he a teacher in some college or university?

Doctor REID. He is one of the leaders and organizers of the League for Industrial Democracy.

Mr. BACHMAN. He does not teach in any school or university?

Doctor REID. Not to my knowledge; no, sir. Many people in this country are unaware that this work is being carried on in secret; that is, a part of it. Much of their work is carried on according to the

traditions of Weishaupt, Carl Marx, and the direct orders of Lenin and his associates.

MR. NELSON. Who did you say?

DOCTOR REID. Most people are unaware that the soviets are operating a secret service in this country. Much of their work is carried on according to the traditions of Weishaupt, Carl Marx, and the direct orders of Lenin and his associates, either secretly, or in a deceptive manner—much of it. Of course, the detailed method and extent are not fully known; therefore—and here is my point—it is hoped that this committee will go into this particular phase of the question thoroughly and make an adequate report.

I want to tell you, briefly, about a personal experience in relation to this very point which seems to me very strong circumstantial evidence that the soviets have a line of communication which in some manner penetrates into the facts possessed by our military establishment. In 1924, Mrs. Reid and I spent a year visiting Africa, India, the Malay States, Australia, and New Zealand, studying communism and socialism. You are undoubtedly familiar with the assertion that Australia and New Zealand, in particular, are considered the most advanced sociological laboratory in the world. We went down to Brisbane, Queensland, to look over the scheme of state socialism, witnessed its practical application, and saw the wheels go round, so to speak. We then went on from there to Sidney, where the communists are very strong. They own their own office building and printing plant, where they publish a daily paper and a weekly paper, magazines and books, and distribute an immense amount of material. I met the nephew of Judge Hutchinson, the famous labor man in the courts of arbitration in Australia, and attended many of the communist meetings in company with him.

MR. NELSON. Doctor, you would not consider there had been anything very secret about the work of the communists in this country since 1924, since the Department of Justice ceased its activities, would you? It has been quite open, has it not?

DOCTOR REID. I think it has and this incident I am offering happened in 1925, that I am coming to right now.

MR. NELSON. Well in 1919 and 1920, the party was virtually outlawed, was it not, both by the order of the Secretary of Labor stating that membership in the Communist Party, per se, made a man deportable, and its support by the court?

DOCTOR REID. Yes, sir. I became very much interested concerning communism during this visit down in Australia; so, when I came back, I thought the best time to investigate it was right then and there, and the best place to find out about it was in Russia.

MR. NELSON. Is that communism in Australia and New Zealand, or socialism?

DOCTOR REID. I am talking about communism there.

MR. NELSON. There is communism and socialism both?

DOCTOR REID. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. There is communism in New Zealand, besides socialism?

DOCTOR REID. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. Are they distinct parties in New Zealand?

DOCTOR REID. They are, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Separate parties, fighting one another?

Doctor REID. Not fighting, only as attorneys fight.

The CHAIRMAN. They run on separate tickets, do they?

Doctor REID. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then I for one can not give much credence to any proposition there is a Communist Party and a Socialist Party there; because, if they are working together and do not run different candidates, we are not interested in socialism at all; at least, we are not directed to investigate socialism and, if they do not run separate tickets, I think we had better not waste the time of the committee going into that.

Mr. BACHMANN. It is outside of the scope of the jurisdiction of the committee, anyway.

Mr. NELSON. But the gentlemen is here as a witness and he has stated that in Australia and New Zealand, whether we believe it or not—

The CHAIRMAN. They have socialism; yes.

Mr. NELSON. And he said communism.

The CHAIRMAN. But he says there are no communist candidates.

Mr. NELSON. I think it is of interest if there is socialism in New Zealand and Australia; furthermore, I do not see how we can investigate communism without investigating socialism, to a certain extent.

The CHAIRMAN. Well; I have no objection to proceeding along the lines of his statement, if the committee has time to hear it.

Mr. NELSON. Well, I asked him if there was communism in New Zealand and Australia, and he said there was.

Doctor REID. Further, sir, I told you they own their own buildings; they are there as a political and commercial organization.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Chairman, I do not think we want to take the time going to any extent into anything which is in New Zealand. It is beyond the scope of the committee, and we are not interested in that. Let us get down to what he knows about the United States.

Doctor REID. All right, sir.

May I bring this point out in regard to my personal experience? When I returned to this country I went over to the State Department. I knew I had a problem on my hands to get into Russia, from things I had heard. I went over to the State Department and the State Department told me I could get in through Boris Skvirsky, who at that time was conducting the Russian Trade Journal at No. 2819 Connecticut Avenue. I called at this address and presented my professional card, on May 4, 1925, saw the secretary and she told me, if I wished to have a personal interview with Skvirsky, it would be necessary for me to explain what my purpose was, and so forth and so on. I did it. She gave me an appointment for the next day, which was May 5, 1925, at 3 p. m. Now I want to make the point very strongly that the first day I called there I presented nothing but my personal card, "Dr. William B. Reid." I called the next day, at the time of appointment, was shown in the private office of Boris Skvirsky, who greeted me with, in a questioning tone, "I have the privilege of meeting Colonel William B. Reid?" And right here I want to emphasize that point; that is a pertinent point to me: How did this man, Skvirsky, who, up until that moment was an entire stranger whom I had never seen before, learn the fact I was

a colonel in the Officers' Reserve Corps in the United States Army? This information he got in some way within 36 hours after I had made my first appearance in that office.

He then put me through the third degree as to my past, present, and future hopes, ambitions, and so forth, and laid particular stress on the question as to why I wanted to visit Russia. I explained to him in detail it was purely for scientific study and personal education. He sent me up to New York to interview a Doctor Lemoshko, who was commissioner of health, Norkonesdow, Moscow, who, he said, might be able to arrange for me to get into Russia.

I went up to New York the next day and tried to get in contact with Lemoshko, to get an appointment to see him and to talk to him. I was not able to do it. He sailed the next day for Russia. I then came back to Washington and saw Skvirsky again. He then attempted to send me to Dr. M. Michailoosky, No. 18 East Forty-first Street, New York City. This was the same address that was given where the other man was stopping and I called his attention to that and said it would be useless for me to go back there, running around, spending my money on the railroads. I succeeded in drawing him out and finally coaxed out of him the opinion that he did not think it would be possible for me to get into Russia. In explanation, he gave two important points, that he believed it would be contrary to the policy of the Soviet Government to have commissioned officers of any country who did not care to recognize them to enter their territory and, furthermore, he said, "Now, Colonel, to be perfectly frank with you, I don't believe you would get anything out of it."

When asked to explain this last remark, he said that it would be impossible for me to comprehend the principles of communism and went on to explain further by asking me if I had ever known a person who was tone-deaf and unable to distinguish one musical note from another. I said I had known such a person, the late Dr. Boris Sidis, of Boston, whose brother was at that time living in Moscow, or a little town right outside of Moscow. This information thawed him out a little bit and he said, "Now, of course, Doctor, I am not insinuating any personal lack of intelligence, but it is the same thing as a person being color-blind. You are a bourgeois and you were born a bourgeois and it would be just as impossible for you to grasp the principles of communism as it would be for the person who is color-blind to distinguish red from green." And I have never succeeded in getting into Russia, although I have made other attempts.

In conclusion, may I offer as Exhibit No. 5 in answer to the oft-repeated question, "Is Communism making headway in this country?"

Mr. BACHMANN. What is Exhibit No. 5?

Doctor REID. A graphic chart from the Daily Worker, which shows in 1924 there were 14 States where it was possible for members of the Workers Party to vote for candidates in their organization.

Mr. BACHMANN. Let the stenographer mark it.

(The paper above referred to was marked as an Exhibit "Reid No. 5.")

Doctor REID. In 1928 there were 34 States, showing a gain of 20 in two years. There were 48,000 votes cast in 1928 for communist candidates and, last week, information was given out at the office of the Communist Party, by the statistician who is working in this,

that at this last election there were over one hundred thousand votes cast.

Mr. BACHMANN. One hundred thousand votes cast for all candidates who ran for office in the United States?

Doctor REID. Of the Communist Party; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not point out there that the 100,000 votes were cast in about 15 States, instead of 35 States.

Doctor REID. Because I did not know it, sir. It is some more information from you and I appreciate it. That was not an idle statement there when I expressed my appreciation to you gentlemen. I do really feel I have been carrying coals to Newcastle. I feel the thing is in excellent hands and I know we will be something worth while out of it from your efforts.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any further information about the activities of the communists in the colleges and universities besides what you submitted?

Doctor REID. Yes, sir. I would be very glad to have you meet Mrs. Reid, who will tell you a couple of instances, but what we have, sir, is not legal evidence, because it has been passed to us by women who were there.

The CHAIRMAN. I would be very glad to see and talk with Mrs. Reid afterwards. Now, are there any questions by the committee? You were never able to find out how Mr. Skvirsky learned you were a Reserve Army officer?

Doctor REID. No, sir. I have never seen him from that day until this.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor Reid, I am sure I am speaking for the committee and I want to thank you for coming here and testifying; also, for arranging this exhibit so that the public could see something of the communist literature that is broadcasted in this country. It is a very fine exhibit. Are you going to leave it here until to-morrow?

Doctor REID. I would be happy to leave it at your pleasure.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you leave it for two or three days?

Doctor REID. If you would like to have it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no objection to an announcement being made to the House that it is over here, so that the Members can come over here and see it, if they want to?

Doctor REID. Not in the least.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Doctor, for coming down here, and also for bringing the exhibit.

(The exhibits submitted by Doctor Reid are as follows:)

REID EXHIBIT No. 3

YOUTH ON THE WARPATH—A REPORT OF THE NATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE

(By Ruben Levin)

The great inimical force to traditional theology and to pious, unthinking religion is to-day to be found among the young men and women of America's colleges. Through fundamentalist glasses, the spectacle of the campus presents itself as a spewing cauldron of irreligion, a hotbed of heresy. The view is right. The youth of the institutions of higher learning is heretical. To it the old beliefs, superstitions, miracles, myths, and rites that make up modern religion are but relics of the childhood of man. The college youth, in large part, now comprehends that intelligence and traditional religion can not mix any more than oil and water.

The generation of the campus is mobilizing its disregard for hoary tradition, its skepticism of theology, its passion for the liberty of all human beings, its optimism in a brighter and more rational future for man—into a great critical force of the social system.

It may have too much of enthusiasm and too little of fact. It may denounce roundly and not analyze deeply. It may feel the evils of the social and industrial order keenly, yet proffer few remedies that are adequate. Nevertheless, it is driven by a discontent that has not entirely become blunted by the cynicism of the disillusioned nor the hopelessness of the frustrated.

The American university youth movement was demonstrated at its best at the national student conference of 3,000 young men and women held in Milwaukee, Wis., during the New Year vacation period. There were representatives of 700 colleges and universities and members of 40 races. They spent five days, not in the rah-rah spirit of the business convention, not in the profound paper-reading spirit of the professional convention, but in earnest inquiry into the panorama of this world by daily discussion groups on sex, science, capitalism, militarism, the human factor in industry, weaknesses and defects of university education, equality of races, socialism and communism, and religion.

There were students frankly atheistic and irreligious; students radical on social and economic issues; students desperately searching for reality in intellectual turmoil and the sense of moral disintegration; students mystical in spirit and in name; students seeking deeper spiritual experience.

They came "haunted by a dream of richness, beauty, and strength which life should afford," to use the words of A. Bruce Curry, of New York, chairman of the conference. "It was a dream strikingly in contrast with the muddled, thwarted existence which seems to be about all that most people can manage. Students want to live 'bravely, colorfully, freely,' but find life about them poured into molds which somehow defeat this aim—molds of institution, custom, and attitude.

"Youth is in a mood to question and to doubt all such attitudes, customs, and institutions on which society has banked—the home, the school, the church, the State, the economic order, with all their rules, regulations, and assumptions."

Youth did doubt. Very emphatically it doubted militarism and capitalism. Kirby Page, editor of the *World To-morrow*, and George A. Coe, professor at the Teachers College of Columbia University and a member of the committee on militarism in education, helped the young men and women to multiply their doubts and strengthen their opposition to the "militaristic and imperialistic" policy of this Nation.

"There is a rising tide of misunderstanding, suspicion, fear, and hatred against us in Europe, Asia, and Latin America," Kirby Page told the students. "Some months ago 20,000 French veterans paraded the streets of Paris in passionate protest against our Government's attitude on the debt question. The people of Japan were deeply wounded by the burning insult administered by Congress in the method of excluding the immigrants. The people of India were greatly stirred by the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court debarring Hindus from the rights of citizenship in this country. Antiforeign propaganda is widespread in China. Deep resentment is felt in the Philippines over our failure to grant the promised independence.

"Only the blindest of the blind can fail to see that further travel down the road of suspicion, fear, bitterness, hatred, and armaments will lead to the precipice of war and devastation. Yet the startling fact is that few people are doing anything to change the direction in which the Nation is now traveling. Blindly and carelessly we are staggering toward the chasm."

At the closing session of the conference, upon a resolution on war, 327 students of 1,518 students who remained, voted to give no aid to any future war the United States may enter; 740 to support some wars and not others; 95 to support all wars; while 356 were noncommittal.

The students placed themselves on record, almost without dissent, against capitalism. Only 38 delegates favored the capitalist system in its present form; 800 declared that such a system, based on production for profit instead of use, was wrong; 388 promised help to reform capitalism by doing all in their power to strengthen and improve the organized-labor movement; 592 wanted a cooperative, distributive system in which the workers share control; 57 thought communism preferable and more in accord with ideas of brotherhood.

Almost unanimously, they decided that they were ready to give the members of other races the same opportunities that they themselves now have and that they would deny to other races no privileges that they claim for themselves.

They called upon the universities and colleges to provide better opportunities to learn the facts of international relations, causes and cure of war, the human factor in industry and causes of discontent in the factory. They demanded complete freedom to bring speakers of the radical minority to their campuses.

YOUTH ON THE WARPATH

The riddle of the reconciliation of science and religion occupied the students during several discussion periods, conducted by a theologian, G. A. Studdert Kennedy, chaplain to the King of England; a scientist, Dr. Robert A. Millikan, famous physicist and a Nobel prize winner in 1923; and a philosopher, Filmer Northrup, professor of philosophy of science at Yale University.

The extent to which the human factor is considered in industry was studied at first hand by the students under the direction of Jerome Davis, sociologist, who conducted trips through the factories of Milwaukee.

Socialism and communism were examined by the students in several groups under the guidance of Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, head of Milwaukee's socialist administration, and J. Louis Engdahl, an editor of the *Daily Worker*, Chicago.

Probably the most startling part of the conference was the frank seminar on sex, led for two days by Dr. Edith H. Swift, lecturer for the American Social Hygiene Association, with an audience of almost half the young men and women present at the conference.

The sex discussion, termed the most candid of its kind known to American student groups, encouraged the young men and women to divulge their sex problems, delve into current sex standards and develop new sex criteria. "Sex is not bad; bring it out into the light; overcome the repressions and inhibitions that now stifle men and women," was the theme of the discussion, as expressed by Doctor Swift.

The students of both sexes, most in their early twenties, many in their late teens, inquired into premarital sex relations, free love, venereal disease, birth control, illegitimacy, homosexuality, the cult of Buchmanism, petting, dancing, and other subjects relating to sex.

"There is no apology for sex," said Doctor Swift, introducing the seminar. "It exists. It is of paramount importance in the human scheme. In it are bound up all the love impulses of life. Frequently these impulses are diverted into channels of altruism. This must be made clear to young people if we expect them to use their minds and their bodies for the highest good."

Many of the students came to the sex symposium to get a few thrills. Many sought to gain the admission from Doctor Swift that free love was permissible and obeyed natural, physical needs. The majority, however, came to inquire sincerely and earnestly into the subject of sex and to relieve repressions by free, untrammelled talk upon the subject. They were looking for the light, seeking a way out of the whole sex mess, as they were out of all the problems now perplexing them.

What the effect of the conference will be only time can tell. Many of the delegates will undoubtedly pass through an emotional slump following the enthusiasm of the conference. But leaders were confident that whatever eagerness does remain in the hearts of the students will be sufficient to leave remarkable impress on the campuses to which they return—an impress of independence in thought and action, of rationalism, and of irreligion in the accepted sense of the term.

It is to the youth of a nation, of the world, that the nation or the world looks for indications of its future. The trend of youth is decisive—the fervor may cool, the brighter colors may fade, but the essential change is there and it will influence and color the years to come. Youth of to-day offers civilization a hope of better things—less intolerance, less superstition, less pandering to conventions and institutions for their own sake. Youth is determined to know the why and the wherefore, to have reasons for what it does, however misguided, for a little time, some of those reasons may be. Ultimately, beyond a doubt, youth will find the right reasons; youth is dynamic, and the force of healthy life can never err far from the way that is best and fullest for all that life holds. And youth is courageous—it will always dare to do what its elders have lost the vim and impulsiveness to attempt. Once a tradition is really defied and shown to be outgrown, it is ended; once the new is tried and found to be worthy, it is won.

REID EXHIBIT No. 4

ANNUAL INTERCOLLEGIATE CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, NEW YORK CITY—"THE STUDENT AND THE SOCIAL ORDER"

Wednesday, December 28, 1927

10 to 12.30 p. m. Room 301, Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, East of Columbia Library; reached via the One Hundred and Sixteenth Street station of the Broadway subway of I. R. T.

Subject: Present-Day Capitalism in America. What are the positive values of capitalism? What are its defects? Can industrial waste, social insecurity, unjust inequality of wealth, industrial tyranny and war be eliminated under capitalism? How necessary is the profit motive to industrial progress?

Speakers: Ivy Lee, public relations counsellor; Prof. Harry F. Ward, Union Theological Seminary.

Chairman: Ludwig C. Hirning, president of Social Problem Club, Columbia; Hillman Bishop, chairman of students' conference committee, will make a few announcements.

2 to 5 p. m.—Room 301, Philosophy Hall, Columbia University

Continuation of discussion on functioning of Present Day Capitalism, particularly in its relation to labor and to imperialism.

Chairman: Beatrice Heiman, of Barnard.

Speaker: Tom Tippet, Brookwood.

Discussion leader: Prof. Rexford Tugwell, Columbia, author of *American Economic Life*.

6.30 p. m.—Buffet Supper to Delegates at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Thomas, 206 East 18th Street, New York City

Exhibition of Russian films; brief remarks by some members of the student delegation to Russia.

Thursday, December 29, 1927

10 to 12.30—301 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University

Chairman: An officer of Vassar Chapter.

The students at this session will divide into four groups to consider the following subjects: Liberal activities on the campus. What are students now doing on the American campus to promote social justice, international peace and racial tolerance, to fight the spirit of militarism and to promote academic freedom? How should they conduct their liberal activities so as to be of maximum influence?

Discussion Leader: Paul Blanshard, field secretary, L. I. D.

Advisers: The students and Felix Cohen, Harvard Law School; Justine Wise, Yale Law; Harry W. Laidler; and others.

Education as a Road to Freedom. Is the modern educational system developing intelligence and social idealism or conformity and a spirit of materialism? Is it propagandistic? Has propaganda, has dogma, a place in the educational process? Does the lecture system or scientific class discussion best develop creative intelligence? What of workers' education? How should the educational system be reorganized so as to contribute the maximum results to social reconstruction?

Discussion leader: A. D. Black, of the New York Ethical Culture School.

Advisers: George S. Counts, professor of education, Teacher's College, and technical adviser trade-union delegation to Russia, 1927; Tom Tippet, of Brookwood; Robert Morss Lovett, of the University of Chicago (probably).

The Value of Political Action. How should "political action" be best defined? What can be accomplished by political action in bringing about a new social order? What are its limitations? Should those desiring a new order work through the old party machinery? If not, what should be the nature of a third party? How can college students aid in a labor party movement?

Discussion leader: Peter H. Odegard, instructor in government, Columbia.

Advisers: Louis Waldman, ex-Socialist Assemblyman, labor attorney; Solon DeLeon, editor *American Labor Year Book*.

The Class Struggle and Labor Unionism. Is there a class struggle in America? Are there several class struggles? Should the existence of a class struggle

gle be emphasized? How should labor unions wage the class struggle? To what extent should labor unions cooperate with employers in producing a more efficient industry?

Discussion leader: William B. Spofford, of the C. L. I. D.

Advisers: William P. Hapgood, of the Columbia Conserve Co.; J. S. Potofsky, assistant secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Benjamin Stolberg and McAlister Coleman.

NOTE.—A number of the expert advisers are interested in two or more of the subjects discussed and are likely to be called upon to be present for a time at other groups than those stated on the program.

2 to 5 p. m.—301 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University

Chairman: William George Fennell, Yale. Continuation of discussion of groups.

6.30 p. m.—Irving Plaza, 17 Irvin Place (corner Fifteenth Street), New York City

Annual dinner of the league on Political Prospects for 1928.

Speakers: United States Senator Gerald P. Nye, of North Dakota; Norman Hapgood, author of Biography of "Al" Smith; Max Eastman, writer; Norman Thomas, executive director, League for Industrial Democracy.

Chairman: Robert Morss Lovett.

Tickets for the dinner are \$2.50. Balcony seats after 8.30 available for students at 50 cents apiece; others \$1.

Friday, December 30, 1927

10 to 12.30—Room 301, Philosophy Hall, Columbia University

Chairman: Simeon Gerson, City College, New York.

Reporters appointed from the four discussion groups will give the findings of the three groups on "Education," "Politics," and the "Class Struggle" to the main group of delegates. The reports will be followed by discussion.

2 to 5 p. m.—301 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University

Chairman: William A. Hunt, Dartmouth.

Report of findings of group on "Liberal Activities on the Campus." Discussion on What Students Can Do in Their Vocations Following College Days. Norman Thomas will give the closing address.

8 p. m.—Earl Hall, Columbia University, West of Columbia Library

Skits entitled "The Average Man," "Twisting the Lion's Tail," "The Sandwich Men," etc., arranged by Gertrude Weil Klein, Sam Friedman, and others. The cast will include Hillman Bishop, Georgiana Volze, Betty Dublin, William P. Mangold, and Ambrose Doskow. There will also be skits arranged by the individual colleges. These will be followed by a dance. Tickets, 75 cents.

The Students' Conference Committee includes Wendell Wheeler and Cecil Headrick, of Union Theological Seminary; Ambrose Doskow, of Columbia; Georgiana E. Volze and Irma Rittenhouse, Barnard; Ida Patigalia, of Brookwood; Arthur Wubnig and J. L. Afros, of New York University; William P. Mangold, Yale, 1927; Felix S. Cohen, Harvard; Simeon Gerson, A. Lifschitz, Winston Dancis, of City College, New York; S. I. Rothenberg, of University of Pennsylvania; Sam Friedman, Hillman Bishop, Columbia, 1926, chairman.

League for Industrial Democracy chapters and affiliated groups are entitled to 2 delegates for the first 10 members and 1 delegate for every succeeding 10 members. Other college students, faculty members, and members of the league will be welcome at the various sessions of the conference as visitors.

Students who expected to attend the conference are requested to send notice to the office of the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, as soon as possible. It is especially important that we should know how many will be present at the Wednesday evening supper and the Thursday evening dinner. Please share this program with any who may be interested.

For further information apply to Hillman Bishop, chairman of the students' committee, or Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY SONGS, 1925

1. THE MARCH OF THE WORKERS

(William Morris)

Air: John Brown's Body

What is this the sound and rumor? What is this that all men hear?
 Like the winds in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near?
 Like the rolling on of ocean in the even tide of fear?
 'Tis the people marching on.

Chorus:

Hark the rolling of the thunder,
 Lo the sun! and lo thereunder
 Riseth love and hope and wonder,
 And the hosts come marching on.
 These are they who build thy houses, weave thy raiment, win thy wheat,
 Smooth the rugged, fill the barren, turn the bitter into sweet.
 All for thee this day—and ever. What reward for them is meet?
 Till the host comes marching on.

Chorus: Hark, etc.

Many a hundred years passed over have they labored deaf and blind;
 Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope their toil might find.
 Now at last they've heard and heard it, and the cry comes down the wind,
 And their feet are marching on.

Chorus: Hark, etc.

On we march then, we the workers, and the rumor that ye hear
 Is the blended sound of battle and deliv'rance drawing near,
 For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear,
 And the world is marching on.

Chorus: Hark, etc.

2. TO LABOR

(Charlotte Perkins Gilman)

Air: Maryland, My Maryland.

Shall you complain who feed the world,
 Who clothe the world,
 Who house the world?
 Shall you complain who are the world,
 Of what the world may do?
 As from this hour
 You use your power
 The world may follow you.

The world's life hangs in your right hand,
 Your strong right hand,
 Your skilled right hand,
 See to it that you do.
 Or dark or light,
 Or wrong or right,
 The world is made by you.

Then rise as you never rose before,
 Nor hoped before,
 Nor dared before,
 And show as was never shown before
 The power that lies in you.
 Stand all as one—
 See justice done;
 Believe and dare and do.

3. THE INTERNATIONALE

(Eugene Potter)

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
 Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
 For justice thunders condemnation,
 A better world's in birth.
 No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
 Arise, ye slaves! no more in thrall!
 The earth shall rise on new foundations,
 We have been naught, we shall be all.

Chorus

'Tis the final conflict,
 Let each stand in his place.
 The international party
 Shall be the human race.
 'Tis the final conflict,
 Let each stand in his place.
 The international party
 Shall be the human race.

4. BROTHERHOOD

(Edwin Markham)

Air: Die Wacht am Rhein

The crest and crowning of all good
 Life's final star is brotherhood:
 For it will bring again to earth
 Her long-lost poesy and mirth.
 'Twill bring new light to every face,
 A kingly power upon the race;
 And till it comes, we men are slaves,
 And travel downward to the dust of graves.

Come, clear the way, then clear the way,
 The fear of kings has had its day.
 Break the dead branches from the path,
 Our hope is in the aftermath.
 Our hope is in heroic men
 Star-led to build the world again.
 To this event the mighty ages ran,
 Make way for brotherhood; make way for man.

5. MARCHING SONG

Air: Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching

In our poverty and toil
 Looking out upon the world,
 We can see the gathering armies of the cause,
 And we feel ourselves a part
 Of the new resistless power,
 That shall sweep away oppression and its laws.

Chorus

Tramp, tramp, tramp, you hear us marching,
 Millions now are on the way,
 And our army ne'er shall pause
 Till the right to live is ours,
 And the sun has risen on a fairer day.

In the days that are to be
 When the cause we love has won,
 We shall labor for ourselves and for our own;
 Each for all and all for each,
 And through many joyful years
 We shall pluck the fruit that comrades brave have sown.

Chorus: Tramp, tramp, tramp, etc.

6. BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC

(Julia Ward Howe)

Air: John Brown's Body

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,
 He is tramping out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;
 He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword,
 His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps,
 They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
 I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps,
 His day is marching on.

He hath sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat,
 He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat;
 O be swift, my soul, to answer Him, be jubilant, my feet!
 Our God is marching on.

7. WE'RE COMRADES EVER

Air: Santa Lucia

Comrades awaiting me, hearts warm and tender,
 To them, where'er I be, my love I'll render.
 Under broad heaven's dome,
 Where'er on earth I roam,
 With them I feel at home—
 We're comrades ever!

That name so true and strong, title endearing,
 Let it resound in song, our life course cheering.
 Bound by a deathless tie,
 A cause that can not die;
 Hark, hark the welcome cry:
 We're comrades ever!

When'er I'm sad or sore, lonely or weary,
 Dark clouds a-hovering o'er, the world all dreary,
 Then mem'ries sweet and clear
 Throng in from far and near;
 They come my soul to cheer—
 We're comrades ever!

So comrades, one and all, be our endeavor
 To heed Humanity's call—let naught us sever!
 A unit be our band,
 For brotherhood we stand—
 We're comrades ever!

8. THE PEOPLE'S HYMN

Air: The Marseillaise.

Ye sons of freedom, wake to glory!
 The day of triumph is at hand!
 Crowned in song and throned in story
 The people rise in ev'ry land!
 The people rise in ev'ry land!
 Their ancient birthright, the product of their labor,
 Shall be restored to them again,
 And no more shall toil in vain
 A slave exploited by his neighbor.

Chorus:

Democracy, arise!
Your standard is unfurled!
Unite! Unite! One law for all!
Let justice rule the world!

The blood of heroes, bravely falling
To give their children liberty,
From the ground to you is calling:
A sovereign people must be free!
A sovereign people must be free!
Say, can you live clothed in feudal degradation,
Eat husks and sleep upon a stone,
While class greed robs you of your own?
No! Men, demand emancipation.

Chorus: Democracy, arise, etc.

9. THE JUBILEE OF LABOR

(H. S. Casson)

Air: Marching Through Georgia.

Raise your voices, comrades, in a loud and hearty song
Music is the enemy of tyranny and wrong;
Melody will help us to be resolute and strong,
As we are marching to freedom.

Chorus:

Hurrah, hurrah, we'll bring the jubilee,
Hurrah, hurrah, the workers shall be free;
So we'll sing a chorus from the center to the sea,
As we are marching to freedom.

When Labor is united we shall conquer every foe,
Right and might are on our side to bring usurpers low,
God is with the workingman, as everyone shall know,
As we are marching to freedom.

Chorus: Hurrah, hurrah, etc.

We mean to fight for justice and for equity again,
Long the new Grand Army has been gathering its men,
Many friends will help us on with ballot, voice, and pen,
As we are marching to freedom.

Chorus: Hurrah, hurrah, etc.

10. MY NATIVE LAND

(Fanny Bixby Spencer)

Air: America the Beautiful

My native land is all the world,
I know no lesser scope
Than vibrant earth and ocean spanned
By brotherhood and hope.
Upon a common soil sustained,
'Neath one all-nurturing sun,
Humanity in every aim
Must win or lose as one.

Where'er the mind of man hath scaled,
I count my country's gain,
And where my brother's blood is spilled,
I touch her carnal stain.
Writ clear upon the scroll of time,
Her cosmic growth I scan,
As God-lit thought reveals the law
Of love of man to man.

11. THE RED FLAG

(Jim Connell)

Air: Maryland, My Maryland

The people's flag is deepest red;
 It shrouded oft our martyred dead,
 And ere their limbs grew stiff or cold
 Their heart's blood dyed its ev'ry fold.

Chorus:

Then raise the scarlet standard high!
 Within its shade we'll live and die,
 Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
 We'll keep the Red flag flying here.

It well recalls the triumphs past;
 It gives the hope of peace at last.
 The banner bright, the symbol plain
 Of human right and human gain.

Chorus: Then raise, etc.

With heads uncovered swear we all
 To bear it onward till we fall,
 Come dungeon dark, or gallows grim,
 This song shall be our parting hymn.

Chorus: Then raise, etc.

12. ONWARD. FRIENDS OF FREEDOM

Air: Onward, Christian Soldiers

Toilers of the nations, thinkers of the time,
 Sound the note of battle loud thro' ev'ry clime.
 March ye 'gainst the tyrants, heedless of the steel
 Be a band of brothers, speed the common weal.

Chorus:

Onward, friends of freedom, onward for the strife,
 Each for all we struggle, one in death and life.
 Toil we now no longer, For another's gain,
 While our wives and children pine in want and pain;
 Grieve we now no longer At another's good,
 Let us all be brothers, Let us all have food!

13. ONCE TO EVERY MAN AND NATION

(James Russell Lowell)

Air: Austrian Hymn

Once to every man and nation
 Comes the moment to decide,
 In the strife of Truth with Falsehood,
 For the good or evil side;
 Some great cause, God's new Messiah,
 Offers each the bloom or blight,—
 And the choice goes by for ever
 'Twixt that darkness and that light.

Then to side with Truth is noble,
 When we share her wretched crust,
 Ere her cause bring fame and profit,
 And 'tis prosperous to be just;
 Then it is the brave man chooses,
 While the coward stands aside,
 Till the multitude make virtue
 Of the faith they had denied.

Though the cause of Evil prosper,
 Yet 'tis Truth alone is strong;
 Though her portion be the scaffold,
 And upon the throne be Wrong—
 Yet the scaffold sways the future,
 And, behind the dim unknown,
 Standeth God within the Shadow,
 Keeping watch above His own.

14. WHEN WILT THOU SAVE THE PEOPLE

(Ebenezer Elliott)

Tune: Commonwealth

When wilt Thou save Thy People?
 O God of mercy! when?
 Not kings and lords, but nations!
 Not thrones and crowns, but men!
 Flowers of Thy heart, O God, are they;
 Let them not pass, like weeds, away—
 Their heritage a sunless day!
 God save the People!

Shall crime bring crime for ever,
 Strength aiding still the strong?
 Is it Thy will, O Father,
 That man shall toil for wrong?
 "No," say Thy mountains, "No," Thy skies;
 "Man's clouded sun shall brightly rise,
 And songs ascend instead of sighs!"
 God save the People!

When wilt Thou save the People?
 O God of mercy, when?
 The People, Lord, the People!
 Not thrones and crowns, but men!
 God save the People! Thine they are,
 Thy children, as Thy angels fair;
 Save them from bondage and despair!
 God save the People!

15. HYMN OF THE TOILERS

(Rose Alice Cleveland)

Air: America

O nation, strong and great,
 For thine own honor's sake
 Hear thou our call;
 We are thy children too,
 From year to year we grew
 Silent and patient thro'
 Darkness and toil.

But, now, O nation strong,
 To thee must truth belong.
 Crown thou the right;
 We are thy children still,
 Working with might and will,
 Ne'er resting till we fill
 The world with light.

16. THE HOPE OF THE AGES

(E. Nesbit)

Air: Red, White and Blue

If you dam up the river of Progress
 At your peril and cost let it be!
 That river must seawards despite you
 'Twill break down your dams and be free!
 And we heed not the pitiful barriers
 That you in its way have cast;
 For your efforts but add to the torrent,
 Whose flood must o'erwhelm you at last!

Chorus

For our banner is rais'd and unfurled;
 At your head our defiance is hurled:
 Our cry is the cry of the Ages—
 Our hope is the hope of the World.

Whether leading the van of the fighters
 In the bitterest stress of the strife,
 Or patiently bearing the burden
 Of changelessly common-place life,
 One hope we have ever before us,
 One aim to attain and fulfill,
 One watchword we cherish to mark us
 One kindred and brotherhood still!

Chorus: For our banner, etc.

17. TRUE FREEDOM

(James Russel Lowell)

Tune: St. George's Windsor

Men whose boast it is that ye
 Come of fathers brave and free,
 If there breathe on earth a slave—
 Are ye truly free and brave?
 If ye do not feel the chain
 When it works a brother's pain,
 Are ye not base slaves indeed—
 Slaves unworthy to be freed?

Is true freedom but to break
 Fetters for our own dear sake,
 And with leathern hearts forget
 That we owe mankind a debt?
 No, true freedom is to share
 All the chains our brothers wear,
 And with heart and hand to be
 Earnest to make others free.

They are slaves who fear to speak
 For the fallen and the weak;
 They are slaves who will not choose
 Hatred, scoffing, and abuse
 Rather than in science shrink
 From the truth they needs must think;
 They are slaves who dare not be
 In the right with two or three.

18. THESE THINGS SHALL BE

(John Addington Symonds)

Tune: Mendon

These things shall be! a loftier race
 Than e'er the world hath known, shall rise
 With flame of freedom in their souls,
 And light of science in their eyes.

They shall be gentle, brave, and strong,
 To spill no drop of blood, but dare
 All that may plant man's lordship firm
 On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.

Nation with nation, land with land,
 Unarm'd shall live as comrades free;
 In ev'ry heart and brain shall throb
 The pulse of one fraternity.
 New art shall bloom of loftier mould,

New arts shall bloom of loftier mould,
 And mightier music thrill the skies,
 And every life shall be a song,
 When all the earth is paradise.

19. GO DOWN, MOSES

(Adapted by H. T. Burleigh)

When Israel was in Egypt's lan'
 Let my people go,
 Oppres'd so hard they could not stand,
 Let my people go.

Chorus:

Go down, Moses, 'way down in Egypt's lan'
 Tell ole Pharaoh to let my people go.
 Thus saith The Lord, bold Moses said,
 Let my people go,
 If not I'll smite your first born dead,
 Let my people go.

Chorus: Go Down, Moses, etc.

[News Bulletin, League for Industrial Democracy, New York City, December, 1927]

OUR INTERCOLLEGIATE CONFERENCE, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 28-30, 1927,
 ON THE STUDENT AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

The Student and the Social Order has this year been selected as the general subject of the intercollegiate conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, which will be held in New York City from Wednesday, December 28, to Friday, December 30, 1927. Most of the sessions will be held in 301 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, as last year.

At the conclusion of the 1926 conference a students' committee was appointed by the conference for the purpose of planning the 1927 program. This committee has been hard at work during the past few months under the chairmanship of Hillman Bishop, Columbia, 1926, and the secretaryship of Georgiana Volze. It has decided, at the suggestion of last year's conference, greatly to increase the number of sessions devoted to informal student discussion from the floor and to limit the number of set speeches by prominent lecturers to a minimum.

As a result of this decision, the only sessions at which formal addresses are being planned—outside of the annual dinner—are those of Wednesday morning, December 28, and the first portion of a Wednesday afternoon. On Wednesday morning there will be a symposium on The Functioning of Present Day Capitalism. Ludwig C. Hirning, president of the Social Problems Club of Columbia, will open the conference.

Ivy Lee, adviser in public relations to large corporate interests, will present some of the positive values of capitalism, while Prof. Harry F. Ward, of Union Theological Seminary, will deal with the evils of the profit system.

This discussion will be continued on Wednesday afternoon, when the conference will discuss informally various phases of the social order, such as the effect of capitalism on labor, capitalism and imperialism, etc. Tom Tippet of Brookwood will be the principal speaker. Prof. Rexford Tugwell, of Columbia, will act as discussion leader.

On Wednesday evening Mr. and Mrs. Norman Thomas have invited the delegates to attend an informal reception at their home. Arrangements are being made for a moving picture made during the visit of the students to Russia and for brief talks by some of the Russian student delegation.

On Thursday morning and afternoon the delegates will divide into four groups for discussion purposes. One group will discuss Liberal Activities on the Campus; a second group will deal with the Value of Political Action; a third group will take up the Class Struggle and Labor Unionism; while a fourth will consider the subject of Education as a Road to Freedom.

Among the speakers and expert advisers who, it is expected, will be present at various sessions on Wednesday and Thursday are William P. Hapgood, of the Columbia Conserve Co., Paul Blanshard, Norman Thomas, and Harry W. Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy, Robert Morss Lovett, president of the league, Justine Wise of Yale, McAlister Coleman, Benjamin Stolberg, Al Black, Louis Waldman, Prof. George S. Counts, Felix Cohen, Solon DeLeon, Peter H. Odegard, of Columbia, and William B. Spofford.

The big annual dinner of the league will be held on Thursday evening, December 29, at the Irving Plaza, 17 Irving Place, corner Fifteenth Street, New York City, at 6.30 p. m.

The dinner will be devoted to a discussion of Political Prospects for 1928. The speakers who have already accepted are Senator Gerald P. Nye, the junior Senator from North Dakota, who will give the point of view of the progressive Republicans; Norman Hapgood, formerly editor of *Colliers* and co-author of a biography of Gov. Alfred Smith, who will speak from the standpoint of a progressive Democrat; Norman Thomas, who will represent the Socialists; and Max Eastman. Robert Morss Lovett will preside.

On Friday morning and afternoon the four discussion groups will give their reports to the general conference and the conference will discuss each report separately. The afternoon also will be devoted to a consideration of the students' contribution to social reconstruction following graduation. Norman Thomas is being asked to deliver the concluding address.

On Friday evening students from various colleges are arranging skits to be given at Earl Hall, Columbia, followed by a dance. Sam Friedman and Gertrude Weil Klein among others are preparing the skits.

The student committee elected at the 1926 conference and other student advisers who have been helping in the formation of the program follow: Wendell Wheeler and Cecil Headrick, of Union Theological Seminary; Simon Gerson, L. Rothenberg, A. Lifschitz, and Winston Dancis, of Columbia College, New York; Ambrose Daskow, of Columbia; William Mangold, Yale, 1927; Arthur Wulnig and J. L. Afros, of New York University; Georgiana T. Volze, of Barnard; Hillman Bishop, of the New York Student's Council; Ida Patigalia, of Brookwood; F. S. Cohen, of Harvard; and Irma Rittenhouse. Mr. Bishop is chairman.

Collegians and college groups planning to attend the conference should send in their names at once. A final program will be mailed to those requesting it. Students are asked to secure publicity for this conference in the college papers and among all groups interested in social questions. Let us make this conference the best ever!

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY SPEAKERS AND WRITERS—BLANSHARD RESUMES
COLLEGE LECTURING

After a leave of absence from college lecturing Paul Blanshard, field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, has returned to the task with renewed vigor. College students are welcoming him back to this field of activity with large and attentive audiences. His first appearance of the educational year was at Westtown School, Westtown, Pa., where he spoke to 200 prep school students on Henry Ford to Bernard Shaw—Where is Industry Going?

On October 18 he spoke on The Chinese Revolution, in Dartmouth College under the auspices of the Dartmouth Round Table, and on November 2 he appeared before a large audience of the People's Institute Forum of Newark, N. J., and before the New York University Liberal Club he discussed industrial conditions in the South.

In a tour of New England which began on November 6 he spoke at the Progressive Club of Northampton the evening of November 6 and at Smith College chapel on November 7. A group of Smith students met with Mr. Blanshard in the afternoon and decided to reorganize a liberal-discussion group. Miss Stella Eskin is serving as temporary leader of this group.

From Smith College Mr. Blanshard went to Providence, where he spoke before the Brown University Economics Club and to Amherst where he addressed the Liberal Club and a class in political science.

At Middletown, Conn., on November 10 he talked at Berkeley Divinity School and at the Wesleyan Forum.

On November 13 Mr. Blanshard revisited Clark University, where he spoke before the student assembly and economics classes; 18 students became auxiliary student members and formed a committee to reorganize the Clark University Liberal Club. Going to Maine, Mr. Blanshard lectured at Bowdoin, Bangor Seminary, the University of Maine, Colby College, and the Bangor Kiwanis Club and Lions Club. Returning to Philadelphia on November 20, he addressed the Labor Institute Forum.

He is planning a trip in the South during December and a trip in the middle and far West in the spring.

 REPORT OF NORMAN THOMAS

Summer, following our annual conference, is principally a matter of carrying on the mass of routine but important work, wrestling with finances and whipping into book form our conference proceedings, which book is becoming an annual feature. With fall begins the more strenuous work of the academic year. This year the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy during the summer added a burden of work and sorrow to our tasks. Our total failure to move the Massachusetts authorities unquestionably darkens the future for all those who hoped in reason and some sense of fair play to moderate the bitterness and violence of the social struggle. But less than ever can we afford to give up the battle against that terrible caste and class prejudice of which Sacco and Vanzetti were only the most conspicuous of recent victims.

A catalogue of my own activities since the Tamiment conference would include (besides the routine work already referred to and the fight for Sacco and Vanzetti) some cooperation with Doctor Laidler in editing and completing Raushenbush's book on Giant Power, speeches at a Washington conference on imperialism, at the Hillsdale conference of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, the Bellport, Long Island forum, the conference of evangelical laymen at Hornell, N. Y., a Debs memorial meeting in Buffalo and Baltimore, a labor chautauqua at Paterson, N. J., addresses at Yale, Princeton, Hunter College, and College of the City of New York, cooperation in arranging the Swarthmore Conference on Students in Industry, numerous speeches before unions and other bodies in New York, a hard election campaign in the eighth aldermanic district of New York—the fight against Tammany voting frauds then uncovered is only beginning—and various continuing activities in connection with the Debs memorial radio, the Neckwear Makers fight (described elsewhere), the revival of the Strikers Relief Committee also described elsewhere and the organization of a Greco Carrillo committee.

This last deserves some words. Greco and Carrillo are two anti-Fascist Italians now charged with the murder of two Fascists on last Decoration Day in the Bronx, New York City. The murder was a brutal affair but there is a growing body of evidence that Greco and Carrillo had nothing to do with it but are the victims of the thirst of Fascists in America for a victim. America can not afford another Sacco-Vanzetti case. While there is reason to hope for a fair trial in the Bronx, the funds of these imprisoned workers are wholly inadequate for the expense of investigation, etc., necessary to an adequate defense and the Fascists will probably scruple at nothing to bring conviction. Some sensational testimony may be adduced. The entrance of Clarence Darrow in the case is encouraging, but I have felt justified in spending some time at the request of various Italian groups in helping to get together the elements that are or should be vitally concerned to see not only that these men get a fair trial but that a Fascist drive on the Italian community in America is checked. This drive menaces everything the League for Industrial Democracy stands for. Thanks to the helpful efficiency of our office staff these activities do not interfere with the organization of speaking trips and the rest of our regular work.

Our president, Robert Morss Lovett, is chairman of the defense committee to which we are temporarily lending office space.

Mr. Thomas will speak in a number of the western colleges in early 1928.

HARRY LAIDLER'S ACTIVITIES

During the summer and fall Doctor Laidler assisted in the editing of the proceedings of the summer conference; completed the manuscript of H. S. Raushenbush on Power; began the writing of a new book on Recent Developments in Modern Capitalism in collaboration with Inez Polak, research assistant, and revised his pamphlet on Roads to Freedom, beside participating in the administrative work of the league.

On October 13 Mr. Laidler visited his alma mater, Wesleyan University, and spoke before a joint meeting of the Y. M. C. A. and a social science discussion group and at the college assembly. While in Middletown he also spoke before the students at Berkeley Divinity School. On October 26 the executive director, together with Roberto Haberman, addressed the Liberal Club of the evening session of the College of the City of New York on the Mexican Revolution. On November 4 he lectured on Roads to Industrial Democracy before 100 students at Adelphi College followed by an informal discussion. Mr. Laidler also conducted an active aldermanic campaign in Williamsburgh, Brooklyn, during October. He is planning a short trip through the New York colleges in December.

Doctor Laidler's History of Socialist Thought, published in May by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., and a product of the research department of the league, has been widely and favorably reviewed in the press of the United States and of England and is now in its second edition. An English edition was published this spring by Constable and negotiations are under way for the translation of the book in other languages. "It is the only book of its kind," declares Prof. E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, "which makes it possible for an educated man to observe the whole trend of socialist comment upon society. With great clearness and impartiality it sets forth the characteristic ideas of the various schools of socialist thought."

Savel Zimand in the New York Times refers to it as a "monumental work," "discriminating and comprehensive," and declares that he "has never encountered a more complete summary in English or in any other language."

Among other comments appear the following:

Sidney Webb: "My first reflection is one of congratulation to you on your persistent industry in turning out so many books, each involving great research and wonderful grasp of detail and immense range of knowledge. In this work I think you have succeeded to a remarkable extent in seizing the salient features of a great mental development, which, so far as England is concerned, seems to me to be very accurately portrayed.

"I do not find anything to object to in your accounts of other countries, but I am not sufficiently well acquainted with their evolution to feel the same assurance as to accuracy."

Stuart Chase: "To the outlines of history, science, and religion, Doctor Laidler adds the outline of socialism. It is a careful, thorough, and withal

dramatic outline. Before us passes the great procession of the world's idealists and dreamers—the divine fools of the ages, and some of the wisest men that ever lived. * * * On a broad canvass the author has given us one of the most poignant dreams that ever beset mankind."

Morris Hillquit: "Laidler's History of Socialist Thought is a monumental work. In a single volume of less than 700 pages the author traces the varying expressions of the socialist ideal from the fervent religious visions of the prophets, the philosophic speculations of all ages, the romantic dreams of the early nineteenth century Utopians, down to the variegated efforts at its practical realization by powerful bodies of organized workers in our days. It is a thrilling story and reads like an entrancing novel. But few books of recent date are as instructive and useful as this. It contains a wealth of information collected and arranged with rare industry, skill, and discrimination. It is authoritative, thorough, and complete and will be an indispensable aid and guide to all students of this vital subject."

Harold J. Laski: "I know of nothing quite so useful for giving the general reader an insight in the history of socialism."

Solon DeLeon in the Daily Worker: "As a handy reference to the various schools of revolutionary and near-revolutionary thought there is no better single volume in existence."

Vernon L. Parrington in New York Herald Tribune: "Mr. Laidler's book might well have carried as a subtitle the words, A History of Social Idealism. It is a record of heroic lives, of generous-minded men who have labored to build the city of God on earth; and it serves to remind us that there are other conceivable ends for society than the familiar ones which most of us accept unquestionably. * * * One can not read it through without coming to think a little better of that animal called man. What a noble company it is that Mr. Laidler brings to us—choice spirits of diverse races and creeds and social faiths, yet all one in the spirit, all disciples and servants of justice."

James Oneal in New Leader: "Universal in its sweep. * * * Not likely to be replaced by any similar work for decades."

Dr. Benjamin M. Anderson, jr.: "Thorough, scholarly, fairminded."

Benjamin Stolberg: "I read your book into the early hours of the morning. It reads like a novel. It is really a romance of human decency."

New Leader, London: "An invaluable and admirably unbiased summary of the various schools of socialist thought."

Daily Herald (England): "A compendium, almost an encyclopaedia of socialist thought."

Socialist Review (England): "I welcome with great joy Doctor Laidler's new book. * * * It is noteworthy for its impartiality and fairness."

Orders for the book are being received by the League (\$3.50).

RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Prosperity? Vanguard Press, 50 cents (described elsewhere).

More Power to You. By Evelyn Preston (League for Industrial Democracy, 5 cents). A readable 16-page pamphlet packed full of facts on the power situation. Here you can get an understanding of the significance of the Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam fights that will be waged in Congress. A group in California has just ordered 800 copies of this pamphlet.

The College Student as Rebel. A concise summary of the challenge of poverty and social injustice to the college student with a carefully selected bibliography of recent books on social problems. (Free copies for limited distribution in colleges.)

Labor in Southern Cotton Mills. By Paul Blanshard. 96 pages, 25 cents. An accurate, sane, and thoroughly readable statement of condition among the mill hands in the South, their mill villages, their wages and hours of labor, and their dependence on the mill owners. Mr. Blanshard spent many weeks last year in first-hand investigations of the problem and presents here data of extraordinary interest to all students of the industrial problem in America. Cooperating organizations.

Roads to Freedom. By Harry W. Laidler. Doctor Laidler has just revised his valuable pamphlet setting forth the meaning of socialism, guild socialism, bolshevism, syndicalism, anarchism, consumerism, and single tax, especially arranged for discussion groups.

THE TAMIMENT CONFERENCE AND "PROSPERITY"

No, this is not a poor joke. We refer not to our prosperity but to the book which gives in carefully edited form the heart of one of the best of our annual discussions. How prosperous are we? What effect has our present economic condition upon American social ideals? What tactics are suggested by our alleged prosperity? These are some of the questions which our June Conference at beautiful Camp Tamiment discussed under very competent leadership. The book, which will shortly go to all regular members and contributors of \$10 or over, will speak for itself. May we urge you, if you like, to help us circulate it by ordering copies for your friends or sending us money so that we may send it to public and college libraries. Cooperation with the Vanguard Press enables us to offer this 286 page booklet at 50 cents.

The Tamiment Conference had the largest regular paid enrollment (278) of any conference in years. The hospitality of the Rand School camp was delightful. The Saturday night session with the conference play attracted visitors from Unity House and farther way. Not even a terrific thunderstorm disturbed actors or audience. Pocket flashlights took the place of footlights and the show went on. The subject of the closely related skits was appropriately "prosperity"; the book was by Gertrude Weil Klein and Solon DeLeon and the lyrics—uncommonly good ones—by Sam Friedman. The list of players follows: Edith Blumberg, Betty Dublin, Gertrude Weil Klein, Rowena Rippin, Nellie Seeds, Leonard Bright, McAlister Coleman, Solon DeLeon, Roland Gibson, Harry W. Laidler, James Phillips, Norman Thomas. At various sessions of the conference Agnes A. Laidler, James Phillips and Mrs. William Van Essen gave groups of songs, with Alexander Fichandler and Marguerite Tucker at the piano.

COLLEGE NOTES

AT COLUMBIA

Ludwig C. Hirning, president of the Social Problems Club, the Columbia Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, reports the following public meetings during the fall:

October 13, Dr. Henry Linville on the Teacher's Union (attendance 50).

October 26, Bishop William Brown on Communism (250).

November 3, Otto Glogan on the Medical Profession—a Social Problem (15).

November 10, Professor Schneider on Facism and Fascisti (50).

November 16, Forrest Bailey on Civil Liberties? (60).

The club has initiated a system of seminar groups with the purpose of discussing social problems in small groups, allowing ample time for investigation and preparation of material. There is a group now meeting fortnightly on the subject, Social Duplications of Modern Science. The concept of Intelligence in Education has been discussed. Other topics this group proposes to consider are: Intelligence Tests and Political Theory; Psychology and Crime; Over-Population and War; Can Human Evolution be Controlled? How Whither?

Other groups will be organized as interest demands.

"The matter of seminar groups," declares Mr. Hirning, "has been entirely initiated and is being run by students."

WESLEYAN GROUP JOINS L. I. D.

Marshall Bragdon, secretary of the recently formed Liberal Club of Wesleyan University, sends us the following description of the club's activities:

"A Wesleyan chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy was formed October 16 and five spirited meetings have been held. The subjects discussed have been the Development of Capitalist Society, Industrial Autocracy, a Member's Experiences While Job Hunting in New York, the Profit Motive, and the Problem of Waste in Industry.

"Paul Blanshard and Harry W. Laidler, of the League for Industrial Democracy, have already spoken at Wesleyan this fall.

"Four men from the group attended the Swarthmore Industrial Conference, November 4-6, bringing back new ideas and vim. Future plans include a joint meeting with students of Berkeley Divinity School to discuss the relation

of the church to industry; meetings at which a labor-union man and an employer opposed to unions will present their views; study and discussion of communism, socialism, cooperation, etc.; and trips to local factories."

DARTMOUTH ARRANGES IMPORTANT LECTURES

The Dartmouth Round Table began its season with an attractive group of speakers this fall. This semester's speakers include, according to the report of William A. Hunt, the president of the Round Table, the following:

October 18, Paul Blanshard, on China (200 in attendance).

November 17, Arthur Garfield Hays, on Civil Liberties.

November 29, Bertrand Russell, on Science and Civilization.

January 13, John S. Sumner, on Censorship.

During the next semester the students are looking forward to visits from S. K. Ratcliffe, of England; Crystal Eastman; and Prof. John Broadus Watson, among others.

The Round Table will be represented at the Christmas conference by the president and probably one or two other members. It contains from 75 to 100 students and faculty members.

WISCONSIN HEARS BERTRAND RUSSELL

"Bertrand Russell spoke under the auspices of the student forum of the University of Wisconsin to a crowd of 2,000 people that packed the auditorium on November 2," writes Don Meiklejohn, secretary of the Wisconsin Student Forum. "Other prominent speakers are being arranged for both large lectures and small discussion groups."

Mr. Meiklejohn also reports that Dr. William Sharp addressed the chapter on Western European Attitude toward the United States on October 20. Professor Sharp had recently returned from Europe and dealt, among other things, with the war-debt situation, Lindbergh flight, and the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Fred Hyslop is president of the club this year; Frederick Jochem, vice president; Donald Meiklejohn, secretary; and Donald Verian, treasurer.

PROFESSOR DOUGLAS ADDRESSES CHICAGO STUDENTS ON RUSSIA

"At the beginning of the quarter," writes the secretary of the Chicago Liberal Club, "Paul H. Douglas, professor of economics, who served as economic adviser of the American Trade Union Delegation to Russia this summer, addressed the club on Russia—Ten Years after the Revolution." Three hundred were present at each of his two meetings, the first dealing with the economic aspects of Russia and the second with political aspects. Professor Douglas has become a very popular speaker. His two talks on Russia packed the assembly room. He had his facts well in hand and presented them in a striking manner. In handling questions from the floor he is quite brilliant."

On November 8 Prof. F. H. Knight spoke on a Machiavellian Interpretation of the Sacco-Vanzetti episode before a similar audience of 300. "Professor Knight," writes the secretary, "gave us one of the cleverest speeches I have ever heard. No one could have disputed his argument without appearing foolish."

The last meeting of November was addressed by Alain A. Locke on New Negro Thought. The club has a membership of about 70.

MICHIGAN CLUB PROGRESSES

"The University of Michigan Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy," writes Neil Staebler, "is much more firmly established this year than last and a much more extensive program is planned. In October some 250 students listened to an address by Carter Goodrich, Professor of Economics, on Labor Unions Strike Against a Labor Government in Queensland, Australia. Dorothy Dexter gave an address on Peace before a student group of 50 in early November. James Rohan delivered an address on the Difficulties of a Union Organizer in the Detroit Auto Industry."

THE OBERLIN FORUM

The Oberlin Forum held two interesting discussion meetings during October and two in November as follows:

October meetings—Professor G. H. Danton on the Youth Movement in China and Japan, Professor P. T. Fern, on The Present Political Situation.

November—Dr. D. T. Wang on Pacific Relations, and Bruce Curry on Radicalism versus Conservatism. C. B. Miller, jr., is the president of the Oberlin College Forum for the current year. The Forum has approximately 30 members.

DARROW SCHEDULED AT OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

"We have arranged for at least one dinner meeting each month during the year, including several speakers of national prominence," writes Richard L. Garnett of the Liberal Club of the Ohio State University which includes a membership of 208. "On January 25, Clarence Darrow, Chicago attorney, will be the speaker. The subject will be The Mechanistic Philosophy of Life. On February 14, Dr. W. W. Alexander of Atlanta, Ga., will lead a discussion on interracial problems. The Liberal Club's growth has been a steady one during its three years of life until it is now one of the largest and most active organizations on the campus."

On October 18, Dr. Henry R. Spencer addressed a meeting of 125 students on the Williamstown Political Institute. Dr. Alva W. Taylor spoke on Mexico and Religion before a group of 75 on November 8.

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Eugene V. Debs was the subject of the address of David Rys Williams at the November 10 meeting of the Meadville Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy. On November 22 the chapter was addressed by John Haynes Holmes on the Minister and Social Reform. Raymond B. Bragg is president of the chapter for the coming year.

OTHER COLLEGES

Miss Stella Eskin, Smith College, is active in the formation of a League or Industrial Democracy group there and has already sent in the names of more than a dozen applicants.

The Social Problems Club at City College, New York, has voted to affiliate with the League for Industrial Democracy as has also the Liberal Club of the evening division. Another organization, the Industrial Democracy Club, which had previously voted to affiliate, will continue functioning this spring but may be incorporated in the other clubs of the afternoon and evening divisions after the first of the year.

Jamestown College open forum is meeting informally this fall and is hoping to secure Senators Nye and Frasier as speakers during the year. Levy C. Larson is the chairman.

Robert F. Roberts of the University of Washington hopes to start a chapter at the university this fall.

The students of Missouri Wesleyan promise also an active season.

CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK, STUDENTS AND COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING

Several years ago, compulsory military training was introduced into the College of the City of New York. Many students deeply resented the compulsory feature of the drill and on Armistice Day, 1925, a concerted campaign was begun under the leadership of Felix S. Cohen, editor of the Campus, against this feature. Meetings and debates were held and editorials and articles were written on the subject. A vote of the students was taken, the students voting overwhelmingly against the course. A referendum of the parents of the students proved that they also desired the removal of the compulsory martial

course. Thereupon, the college authorities imposed a ban upon all further written discussion of the subject. The metropolitan papers took up the matter with zest. Heywood Brown, the columnist, was specially caustic in the criticism of the administrations' attitude. The college paper, the *Campus*, refrained from mentioning the subject again, declaring in a headline over two blank columns, the *Campus May Make No Further Reference to a Certain Course at the College*. The lifting of the ban against discussion after two weeks led to further agitation in the *Campus* and, finally, to the consideration of the matter by the curriculum committee. The result was the institution of civilian drill for the incoming freshman class of 1926. The class of 1930, however, was the only class to receive the option. The incoming class of 1927 did not receive the alternative of taking civilian drill immediately but did receive the choice of either taking military science in the first two years at the college or waiting until their last two years for their civilian course.

On November 11, Armistice Day, the Social Problems Club of Columbia held a public meeting on the question of militarism. John Nevin Sayre of the Fellowship of Reconciliation spoke against militarism and it was hoped that Major Penfield of the National Security League would defend compulsory military drill in the colleges. Major Penfield was not present, however, and after the address by Mr. Sayre, some of the students, particularly Alexander Lifschitz, criticized the faculty on the ground of insincerity. Leo Rothenberg also drew attention to certain regulations which made it far easier for the students to take military drill than civilian drill. Among these was the fact that those taking civilian drill had to pay \$7 for uniforms, while the uniforms provided for students taking the military course were free of charge. It was also alleged that civilian drill was given at inconvenient times. The authorities were inclined to lay special emphasis on the military drill, and in 1926, it was asserted, the course was offered after the programs were filled out. These and other circumstances tended to take away the free choice of the students, many felt, and to make military training actually if not technically of a compulsory nature. Many of the students feared that, unless something were done, the civilian drill might soon be entirely a thing of the past. A stenographic report of the meeting was taken down by a representative of the administration and the two students were suspended indefinitely. Messrs. Rothenberg and Lifschitz explained their statements to the trustees and faculty. Mr. Rothenberg was reinstated but Mr. Lifschitz's letter was considered an inadequate retraction. In the meanwhile, the administration has forbidden the students from making any remarks which in its opinion are prejudicial to the college, on penalty of suspension. The faculty committee on military training has promised to make a report in the spring. In the meanwhile students are warned to keep as quiet as possible regarding the whole matter and many fear suspension—a power conferred on the president by the faculty and trustees—in case they publicly agitate on the subject. The atmosphere seems surcharged with the spirit of fear—a spirit which should be utterly foreign to university life.

In their call for a meeting addressed by Dr. Harry Laidler on Education and War on December 1, the Social Problems Club declared that the overwhelming majority of the student body had expressed their sentiment against military training and that the right of the governed to make their will felt in government was applicable here. The announcement called attention to the continued suspension of Lifschitz, despite the fact that he had withdrawn remarks which might be construed as derogatory to the faculty. The question naturally arises in the minds of many students: "why is not Al Lifschitz reinstated? Is it because he is opposed to the militarization of the American youth?"

Following the meeting a delegation was appointed by the club to visit President Robinson of the college to find out what he proposed doing about the Lifschitz case. Later a delegation to city authorities might be appointed. In the meanwhile, the Student Council of New York called a meeting for December 3 to consider plans for agitating for the abolition of military training in colleges and for the freedom of student expression. On November 30, the student paper of New York University in a leading editorial expressed its astonishment at the suspension of students for expressing their convictions—however erroneous—that the faculty was not wholly sincere in its dealings with the students. Should not students, the paper asks, have at least as much right to criticize the faculty as citizens have to criticize the Government?

NECKWEAR MAKERS AND COLLEGE STUDENTS

When four neckwear shops ran away from New York to escape an agreement between the union and the manufacturers calling for an end of home work in neckwear making within 18 months they created an issue out of proportion to the number of workers involved. Bitter experience has shown that in the needle trades neither sanitary standards nor good working conditions and wages can be maintained where home work rules. The success of these run-away shops in producing under nonunion conditions would ultimately have imperiled the life of this union and made the struggle for union conditions harder in all the needle trades. Very wisely the Neckwear Makers Union laid its plans to carry a careful organization campaign to the cities where the runaways had fled.

In two of these cities—New Haven and Poughkeepsie—the League for Industrial Democracy has close relations with college groups in Yale and Vassar. We invited the students to cooperate with the union in studying conditions and in helping to shape public opinion as to the issues and merits of the strike. The reports from these colleges show what has been done.

"We are now arranging for a meeting early in December," writes Catherine Bryant, president of the chapter, "at which speakers will present this situation to the college and in connection with this there will be publicity in the college newspaper. We have already an informal report from a faculty member, Miss Caroline Ware, who attended a meeting of the Trade and Labor Council on the situation held in Poughkeepsie. Several of the girls have also talked with some of the pickets and Mr. Cushing of the Neckwear Union. At that time we visited the Dutchess Manufacturing plant and observed the picketing."

J. B. Whitelaw, of the Yale Liberal Club, reports that the members of the Liberal Club have been studying the entire situation carefully, and are publishing a leaflet on it which they are submitting to the manufacturers, asking for the latter's comments. Fred C. Hyde of the club has written up the situation for the New Student and Labor. The members of the club had the issue of Labor containing this article sent to every member of the faculty and distributed throughout New Haven.

The Yale News of October 27, 1927, gives the following description of the arrest of the Yale students for distributing circulars regarding the conditions under which the neckwear workers toiled, an article which shows that some Yale students are discovering some of the forces confronting labor in America to-day.

[From the Yale News, Oct. 27, 1927]

On October 25, three Yale students were arrested in the act of passing out pamphlets to the workers employed in two erstwhile New York neckwear manufacturing plants.

It was only part of a drama which has been unfolding itself for the last four years. Bitter competition, strikes, the helplessness of underpaid sweatshop workers have all played their part.

The story goes back to a period of depression, four years ago, in the neckwear industry, a depression which brought in its train all the evils of tenement homework and sweatshop activities. To meet a slump, the manufacturers started to employ women in the homes to do some small part in the production of ties. This led to the almost complete manufacture of the ties in homes, sometimes poorly lighted, poorly ventilated, and under rotten sanitary conditions. Such proceedings violated all humane codes and incidentally the best interests of the neckwear union, who started an investigation. The result was an agreement among the makers of neckwear to cease all homework within two years, that is all the makers but four, two of whom retreated to New Haven and set up open shop.

The fight aroused the ire of the union men in New York who sent two bus loads of strikers to New Haven to impress the nonunion workers here with the necessity of resisting their employers. A mass meeting was held. Over 200 men attended and Mr. Murphy, at that time acting mayor of New Haven, presided, welcoming the strikers to New Haven. Newspapermen were present, and covered the story all to no purpose, for the next morning not a word appeared in the papers. What was wrong? Nobody knew. Publicity had to be gained in some manner, so the union tried to insert paid advertisements in the New Haven papers announcing that a state of strike existed among union neckwear workers, but the copy was rejected and never ran. To break the deadlock, Frederick C. Hyde, Yale, 1928; Charles Janeway, Yale, 1930, and Frederick

Gignoux, Yale, 1930; took matters into their own hands and tried to distribute pamphlets to the workers in Stern & Merritt and Berkman & Alder.

They were immediately arrested and taken before District Attorney French for "distributing circulars without a permit." There is no such ordinance. District Attorney French attempted to impress the students with the seriousness of the offense, pointing out the possibility of expulsion from college and charging them with being in pay of the neckwear unions. They faced a fine of \$500 and a year's imprisonment until Prof. L. A. Tulin, son-in-law of Rabbi Wise, arrived to prove that they could not be lawfully detained. But the desired publicity was gained and the striking possibility was started when one cutter and one shipping clerk refused to work any longer under existing wages.

Evidently it is a question of educating the workers to the degradation of their condition and to the possibility of raising it by a little active resistance. What are the issues between the recalcitrant companies and the strikers? The union asks for a 44-hour week during the summer months. It asks that the wages of the girls be increased \$2 or \$3 a week. It wants increase for the highly skilled and experienced cutters. Above all it wants the homework system abolished. This practice of sending ties out to the homes to be sewed by women sometimes results in a revival of the old sweatshop system with work passed on to the children of the family. Naturally, payment of such low wages for a fine grade of work enables the employer to underbid his competitors, who, in self-defense, must go to the old methods. And so the whole industrial structure is undermined.

Last week, Mr. Louis Waldman, union counsel, addressed some members of Dwight Hall and outlined the steps which are to be taken to curb "this existing evil." As a consequence, Dwight Hall unofficially conducted an investigation and found things much as Mr. Waldman had described them, employers uncommunicative and workers willing to take almost any step.

The question has evolved into a fight between the union and the employers and a people apparently too phlegmatic to educate themselves concerning their condition. Indications point to an early victory for the unions—partly as a result of the energy of three Yale undergraduates.

This is the sort of co-operation between students and workers which promises to bring real fruit in America. Especially where civil liberties are involved as in the Yale situation there is a service college students can render. Perhaps that service will not always be easy, for intelligent struggle is the price of freedom.

NEW YORK CITY ACTIVITIES

Over 700 men and women attended the welcoming dinner to Bertrand Russell at the Fifth Avenue Restaurant, New York City, on Thursday, October 7, held under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy. The great British philosopher and socialist gave a masterly survey of the international policy of the great governments of the world, under the title, "Russia, Asia, and the West." President Lovett presided.

The first fall meeting of the New York Chapter of the league took place on Thursday evening, October 20, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Thomas, 206 East Eighteenth Street, New York City. Leroy Bowman of Columbia University, president of the chapter, gave a stimulating talk on his travels in Europe from Ireland to Russia, and particularly the condition of the labor, cooperative socialist movements in these countries. Paul Blanchard spoke brilliantly on recent Chinese developments as seen by him this summer during his trip to that country. Harry W. Laidler presided.

After the meeting, the following were elected officers for the ensuing year: Leroy Bowman, president; Inez Pollak, vice president; Solon DeLeon, treasurer; Mina Weisenberg, secretary. Other members of the executive committee are Edmund B. Chaffee, McAlister Coleman, Isabelle B. Friedman, Samuel H. Friedman, Leon R. Land, Evelyn Preston, Eunice Shaughnessy, Benjamin Stolberg and Roy Strycker.

One of the most informative and stimulating evenings held by the chapter in the last few years was the dinner meeting at the Town Hall Club, 123 West Forty-third Street, New York City, on Russia Ten Years After the Revolution—and United States Recognition. Three of the economic advisers of the American trade-union delegation—Prof. Rexford Tugwell of Columbia, author of *American Economic Life*; Stuart Chase, of the Labor Bureau, (Inc.), author of *Your Money's Worth*; and Robert W. Dunn, author of *Americanization of*

Labor, were the principal speakers. Agnes Armington Laidler sang Russian folk songs. The speakers gave a keen analysis of the economic, political, and social conditions of the country, which they believed had vastly improved since 1921, although they were still very far from satisfactory. Industrial production, Mr. Chase thought, was from 7 per cent to 14 per cent higher than in 1913, while agricultural production was approximately up to the 1913 level. The condition of the industrial worker, as a result of the system of social insurance, etc., had improved considerably since 1913. The attempt of the Gospel to integrate industrial production was, he felt, one of the boldest and most interesting industrial experiments in the world to-day.

The New York chapter is planning a series of meetings in the beginning of the year on the issues of the 1928 campaign.

THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR STRIKERS' RELIEF

Three years ago, in response to urgent appeals for warm clothing and other relief for the striking miners of West Virginia, the League for Industrial Democracy, in cooperation with the Civil Liberties Union, organized an emergency relief committee. With its subsequent activities there, and more especially in the Passaic strike when it raised over \$37,062, our readers are familiar. Now that committee is again active in response to the moving pleas of the striking miners of western Pennsylvania and Colorado.

A country less hypnotized than ours by prosperity propaganda would be tremendously moved by the appalling evidence which the officials of the American Federation of Labor have piled up to show the beastly tyranny under which the striking miners in West Virginia, Ohio, and more especially central and western Pennsylvania are compelled to live. They have been ruthlessly evicted from company-owned houses in cold and stormy weather. They have been set upon and beaten by coal and iron police. Even the rapid building of temporary barracks to shelter them and their families has been made more difficult by the sweeping injunction granted by Federal Judge Schoonmaker. The labor men produce evidence that railroad and coal companies and politicians, including Governor Fisher, of Pennsylvania, are in a virtual conspiracy to crush the union by fair means or foul.

Meanwhile a somewhat similar situation exists in Colorado, where, curiously enough, the Industrial Workers of the World is the principal force fighting for the Jacksonville agreement originally made by the United Mine Workers of America. Once more the Rockefeller company union plan of the Colorado Iron & Fuel Co. has broken down and we are treated to the usual spectacle of ruthless coercion, which is the worse in Colorado because of the stringent anti-picketing law under which more than 200 strike leaders have already been arrested. Some of them have had nothing to do with picketing!

It is the business of American citizens who love liberty and justice to support the workers in their struggle by industrial and political means to break down this tyranny. There is also the duty to aid the workers to bring relief to their striking comrades and the thousands of women and children dependent upon them. To give help in this task the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief originally founded by the League for Industrial Democracy has been revived. At its office, room 1027, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, it will receive money and warm clothing which it will send to the miners' committees in the most needy districts. Norman Thomas is chairman of the committee and Forrest Bailey, treasurer. Correspondence should be addressed to Miss Susanna Paxton, the secretary. The committee seeks gifts from individuals who have no other channels through which to contribute to this cause.

We especially urge our college members to see what they can do to get warm, substantial clothing. It may be sent to the above address in New York City, or direct to Room 307, 611 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., or Room 314, Interstate Trust Building, Denver, Colo.

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO CHINA

This committee, organized on the initiative of the League for Industrial Democracy, continues its occasional bulletins to individuals, newspapers and periodicals and its vigilant demand for a friendly, non-imperialistic policy

toward China. It contributed to the expense of Paul Blanchard's recent trip and will cooperate in using him on some of his lecture tours for the League for Industrial Democracy. Our members are urged to put their names on the mailing list of this committee. Neither the happy disinclination of our government and people to push an imperialistic policy, nor the unhappy factional weakness within the Nationalist movements, has solved the problems of our relations to a great people pressing into the industrial and political life of the modern world.

THE COMMITTEE ON COAL AND POWER

Miss Vivi Berkman, recently from the University of Lausanne, is continuing research work on the power situation under the direction of a subcommittee on research, consisting of Miss Preston and Messrs. Laidler and Coleman.

Mr. Raushenbush's study on Power and Control, a study completed by Doctor Laidler after Mr. Raushenbush was called away from the country on account of illness in the family, is being published by the New Republic and will be brought out as one of their \$1 books in January. The committee feels that the book with the New Republic as publisher is bound to have a large sale and a big influence in the power fight. The book of about 250 pages, the result of two years' extensive study of the problem, has valuable chapters on the growth of the industry, concentration of control, rates, regulation, municipal ownership, Ontario, the St. Lawrence, Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam propaganda and the "recapture of control." It may be ordered from the League for Industrial Democracy—price \$1.00.

SUPPORTING THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

We do not want to load this Bulletin with appeals. It speaks for itself of the manifold opportunities before us and the way we are trying to meet them. If it does not make a case, further words are useless. But we must remind you of two things:

1. On you we depend for growth in members and friends. Invite your friends to get acquainted. Send us their names and let us try to interest them.

2. With the utmost care our annual budget must grow, or at least not diminish, if we are to do our work. The help of the American Fund is rapidly coming to its end. We must depend on you. Shortly our appeal for next year (which, alas, must probably include an appeal for a deficit this year) will go out. In your plans for holiday giving and your budget of gifts for next year save generous place for the League for Industrial Democracy. If we fail or have to curtail our work no other organization will take our place!

IN MEMORIAM

In the death of Mrs. Gordon Norrie, of New York, not only the League for Industrial Democracy but the progressive cause generally lost a friend and leader of a type too seldom found in the United States. Without affectation she used her means, her social position, her gracious personality, and her intellectual gifts in the service of social justice. A series of brief pamphlets in catechetical form for which she was chiefly responsible won wide attention and high praise. The League for Industrial Democracy is cooperating with a number of other organizations in a memorial service to be held Monday, December 19, in the auditorium of the Y. W. C. A., 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. Our members who are in New York are urged to attend.

News of the sudden death of Walter Fuller, in London, came with a shock to his many American friends. During the years of his residence in America the League for Industrial Democracy (then the Intercollegiate Socialist Society) was one of many organizations to profit by his fund of ideas and his uncommon editorial skill. These gifts found a beautiful setting in his modest and friendly self. We who missed him when he returned to his own country find the world a poorer place without him.

STUDENT REPRESENTATIVES

Adelphi, Elizabeth Hall; Agnes Scott, Josephine North; Albion, F. G. Piepenbrock; Alma, Winston Thomas; Amherst, James R. Chase; Antioch, Robert Packe; Baker, Harold Colvin; Barnard, Elizabeth Dublin; Beloit, Orton B. Motter; Berkeley Divinity, Joseph F. Fletcher; Boston, Abraham Wirin; Brookwood, Ida Patigalia; Brown, Herbert Negus; Buffalo, Daniel Katz; California Institute of Technology, Kenneth Robinson; Claifornia, Bernard Witkin; Carroll, Melvin Brethower; Central, Walter A. Cutter; Chicago, Charles Coe; Cincinnati, Josephine Streit; College of City of New York, S. W. Gerson; College of City of New York (Evening), Edward Epstein; Clark, Theodore Rothman; Coe, William Shirer; Colby, W. Bertrand Downey; Colorado Teachers, Mildred Struck; Columbia, Ludwig C. Hirning; Cornell College, Lois Wilson; Cornell University, William Maslow; Dartmouth, H. R. Horton; Denver, Earl Rinker; Doane, Andrew E. Nugrist; Earlham, Hugh Grant; Eden, Waldo Berlekamp; Emporia, Eugene Link; Franklin & Marshall, J. G. Eddy; Garrett, Stanley S. McKee; Grinnell, Arthur Moore; Hamma Divinity, Howard Laughner; Harvard, Bert J. Loewenburg; Haverford, Royal W. Davis; Hebrew Union, N. L. Friedless; Hillsdale, Donald Costin; Hobart, Martin Bram; Hood, Mary C. Zimmerman; Howard, Dutton Ferguson; Illinois, Margaret Read; Illinois State, Will A. Miller; Iowa State, Dewitt Sampson; Johns Hopkins, Aaron C. Snyder; Kansas City Law, Warren S. Earhart; Kansas, Paul Porter; Kentucky, James W. Russell; Kenyon, Albert C. Baker; Lutheran, William Conradi; Maryland, Geneva E. Reich; Massachusetts Agricultural, Philip G. Johnson; Meadville, W. Frank Swift; Michigan, Neil Staebler; Milwaukee State, Maurice Iushewitz; Minnesota, Ole Hellie; Missouri Wesleyan, Paul K. Crawford; Mount Holyoke, Ruth Tenny; Nebraska, Ruth Shallcross; New York University, Arthur Wubnick; North Carolina Woman's, Brooks Johnson; North Dakota Agricultural, J. C. Ellickson; Northwestern, Wesley Cook; Oberlin, Charles B. Miller; Occidental, Robert Davidson; Ohio State, Richard Garnett; Ohio University, Edwin Kennedy; Oklahoma, Earl Martin; Penn. W. Bruch Hadley; Phillips, Pat Haurm; Princeton, Robert Ely; Queens, Michael A. Phelan; Reed, Ward H. Walker; Reformed, Sarlis Papajian; Robert Brookings, Max A. Lerner; Rochester, W. C. Osgood; Sam Houston, Clifford Davis; Smith, Stella Eskin; Southwestern College, I. D. Harris, jr.; Southwestern University, Frank Mood; Springfield Y. M. C. A., Leonard C. Hardwick; St. Johns, Ernest Von Hartz; St. Lawrence, M. A. Kapp; Swarthmore, Elmer F. Cope; Syracuse, J. Wesley Greene; Transylvania, Athol V. Havens; Union Theological, Richard E. Hansen; Utah, W. B. Murdock; Vassar, Elizabeth S. Rogers; Virginia, Charles Gleaves; Washington College, A. J. Glover; Washington University, Robert F. Roberts; Wellesley, Helen Franc; Wesleyan, Takuzo Miyake; Western Maryland, Joy Reimuth; Willamette, Hugh M. Bell; Wisconsin, Fred Hyslop; Wittenberg, John Schmidt; Yale, J. B. Whitelaw.

ANNUAL INTERCOLLEGIATE CONFERENCE—LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Wednesday, December 28, 10 a. m.: Room 301, Philosophy Hall, Columbia. Symposium, Present-Day Capitalism. Speakers: Ivy Lee, Prof. Harry F. Ward. Chairman: Ludwig C. Hirning.

Wednesday, December 28, 2 p. m.: Room 301, Philosophy Hall.

Continuation of discussion. Speakers: Tom Tippet, Brookwood; Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, City College, New York; Prof. Horace Taylor, Columbia. Discussion leader: Paul Blanshard. Chairman: Beatrice Heiman, Barnard.

Wednesday, December 28, 6:30 p. m.: Reception to visiting delegates at home of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Thomas, 206 East Eighteenth Street. Followed by exhibit of Russian films and brief talks by members of Russian student delegation. Chairman: Hilman Bishop.

Thursday, December 29, morning and afternoon sessions in Philosophy Hall.

Group discussions on Liberal Activities on the Campus, with Paul Blanshard as discussion leader and Felix Cohen, Justine Wise, and Harry W. Laidler, advisers; The Value of Political Action, with Stephen S. Wilson as discussion leader and Louis Waldman and Solon DeLee as advisers; Education as a Road to Freedom, with A. D. Black as discussion leader and George S. Counts, Tom Tippet, and Robert Morris Lovett as advisers; The Class Struggle and Labor Unionism, with William B. Spofford as discussion leader and William P. Hapgood, Otto H. Beyer, jr., Benjamin Stolberg, and McAllister Coleman as advisers.

Thursday, December 29, 6.30 p. m.: Annual dinner at Irving Plaza, 17 Irving Place (corner Fifteenth), on Political Prospects for 1928. Speakers, United States Senator Gerald P. Nye, Norman Hapgood, Max Eastman, Norman Thomas. Chairman: Robert Morss Lovett. Tickets at \$2.50 (\$1.50 to student delegates) should be secured from League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue (Algonquin 5865).

Friday, December 30, morning and afternoon, in Philosophy Hall, Columbia. Reports on group meetings and discussion. Simon Gerson, of City College, New York, and William A. Hunt, of Dartmouth, chairmen. Paul Blanchard, discussion leader. Afternoon session will also deal with vocations of college progressives after graduation. Norman Thomas will give closing address.

Friday, December 30, 8.30 p. m.: Dance and skits in Earl Hall, Columbia. Admission, 75 cents. Skits on The Average Man, Twisting the Lion's Tail, The Sandwich Men, and Open Shop Summer. Participants will include the Brookwood Players, Jasper Deeter, Edith Kowski, Gertrude Weil Klein, Sam Friedman, Hillman Bishop, Georgianna Volze, Betty Dublin, William P. Mangold, Ambrose Doskow, Norman Thomas, and Harry W. Laidler.

(Exhibits Nos. 1, 2, and 5 made a part of the committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is Mr. Skvirsky here?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be sworn?

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Skvirsky will affirm.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I wish to affirm.

The CHAIRMAN. For what reason?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I am nonbeliever.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not believe in God?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You solemnly affirm that in the testimony you will give before this committee, created by the House of Representatives, you will testify to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BORIS E. SKVIRSKY

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your full name?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Boris E. Skvirsky.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a soviet citizen?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Odessa.

The CHAIRMAN. What official position do you hold?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have no official status here; I am director of the Soviet Union Information Bureau.

Mr. MARSHALL. If I may suggest, Mr. Skvirsky has a statement which he would like to submit to the committee, which I think will shorten this up very much, because a good deal of the information you seek he states in this paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Marshall, I do not think the committee is in any hurry. We have only one other witness, and there are a number of qualifying questions we would like to ask, and we will give Mr. Skvirsky ample opportunity to make any statement, no matter how short or how long.

Mr. MARSHALL. That is perfectly agreeable.

The CHAIRMAN. But we will have to proceed in an orderly way and ask some qualifying questions.

Mr. MARSHALL. That is perfectly agreeable.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you come to this country?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In December, 1921.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I came over as a member of the special trade delegation of the Far Eastern Republic to the Washington Disarmament Conference. We had a delegation composed of three members; I was one of them. And I was representing this republic until 1922, when it amalgamated with the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. What republic did you say you represented?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia.

The CHAIRMAN. Now state in what year did it amalgamate with the Soviet Union?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In 1922, it amalgamated with the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1922?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you represented the Far Eastern Republic when you came here?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, sir; was a member of the delegation of the republic of three; two of them left in a few months.

The CHAIRMAN. So you remained as sole representative of the Far Eastern Republic?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. As unofficial representative, of course, because officially the Republic was not recognized. We came with the consent of the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, when it was amalgamated with the Soviet Union, you continued?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I continued here just as an unofficial representative of the foreign office of Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. Official representative?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Unofficial representative. I have no official status.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not recognized, but you are the official representative of the foreign office of the Soviet Union here in Washington?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And since what year, then, have you represented the foreign office of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have been here, you know, since the amalgamation took place in 1922; so, since 1922, I have been here for eight years.

The CHAIRMAN. What have you been doing here in Washington during that time?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, I have established—

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to cover that in your statement?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I have a number of questions to ask but, perhaps, if the committee has no objection, it would be preferable for you to read your statement at this time, and then we will ask you the questions afterwards.

Mr. BACHMANN. There are one or two questions I would like to ask there.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. BACHMANN. How old are you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Forty-three.

Mr. BACHMANN. Married and have your family in this country with you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Married. I was married in Russia; I have been married for 17 years.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is your family in this country?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; my wife is here.

Mr. BACHMANN. You never attempted to obtain citizenship in the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. I was in Russia several times, just going from here to Russia and back.

Mr. BACHMANN. You are a communist?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I belong to the Communist Party; yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now read your statement, and then we have a number of questions to ask afterwards.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Soviet Union Information Bureau was established by me in Washington about eight years ago. At that time there was no commerce between the two countries. The last foreign troops participating in the armed intervention in eastern Siberia had already withdrawn. Civil war in Soviet Russia was at an end. The country had begun to heal its wounds and to restore its productive life. Foreign trade was beginning to revive.

In these circumstances, I attempted through the bureau to make available at least a modicum of reliable information about the Soviet Union for American business organizations, Government departments, and general inquirers. At the same time, the bureau has been sending commercial information to soviet business organizations and Government departments. I have tried to contribute toward a better understanding between the two countries.

Peace insured rapid progress and development of the Soviet Union. In a few years, the trade between the United States and the Soviet Union has grown to \$107,200,000. in 1929, and \$86,600,000 during the first half of this year, according to figures of the Department of Commerce, with five-sixths of the business represented by American exports to the Soviet Union. The records of the Department of Commerce for this year show that the Soviet Union has become the sixth best foreign customer of the United States. It is a great satisfaction to think that I have made a small contribution toward building up this business, which is mutually profitable to both countries.

Mr. BACHMANN. Let me interrupt you right on that particular point: You say the United States is the best customer?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The sixth.

Mr. BACHMANN. The sixth best customer of the Soviet Union?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. Well, the Soviet Union purchases goods here and it occupies the sixth place.

The CHAIRMAN. In the United States?

Mr. BACHMANN. In other words, there are only five other governments in the world that buy more than Soviet Union?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. According to the Department of Commerce's figures for this year,—the six months; yes. I am giving the latest figures.

It is my earnest wish that its development may continue.

The Soviet Union Information Bureau publishes a monthly bulletin, *The Soviet Union Review*, which gives facts of an economic, cultural, and general nature about the Soviet Union, and contains translations of important public documents and decrees. This is sent to United States Government departments and numbers of business firms and banks. The bureau has also issued yearbooks giving statistics of the Soviet Union and several pamphlets giving information of a legalistic nature, such as translations of the Soviet Constitution, of the patent laws, and the like.

My office has also served to make contacts between visiting soviet scientists and technical men with scientific organizations in the United States or with appropriate Government departments and bureaus in Washington. I am sure these exchanges have been of mutual benefit. The unofficial courtesies extended in Washington to a number of soviet visitors have been highly appreciated. I am glad to say that on several occasions, when opportunity offered, the Soviet Government, at my suggestion, has gladly extended courtesies to Americans.

Thus when the American fliers, Eielson and Borland, were lost a year ago in the frozen wilderness of northeastern Siberia, the Secretary of the Interior sent an informal request to me that the Soviet Government be asked to aid in the search for them. The Soviet Government immediately called for volunteers for this dangerous task, and the best soviet fliers, both civil and military, responded, rushing to the East with their flying equipment with all speed, while the radio ordered the two planes in the northeastern territory and all available dog-teams to search for the missing men. This effort was unsuccessful, for the American fliers unfortunately had crashed to death weeks earlier.

Again, a year ago last spring, certain scientists connected with the Department of Agriculture informed me that a new blight had destroyed the alfalfa crop over large areas of certain Western States. The department had determined that strains of alfalfa originally from Russian Turkestan resisted the blight, but in order to assist the American farmers it was necessary for the experts of the department to go to Turkestan and study the varieties on the ground. The Soviet Government responded promptly and the Soviet Academy of Sciences made arrangements to have its own alfalfa specialists accompany the Americans and render every assistance.

Similarly, when the Veterans of Foreign Wars desired to undertake the difficult task of recovering the bodies of American soldiers who had died in the Archangel region during the allied invasion at the close of the World War, the Soviet Government permitted them to send a commission for their purpose, and made every effort to assure the cooperation of the local authorities and inhabitants.

In the absence of normal relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, Americans desiring to obtain visas to enter the Soviet Union have to apply directly to the Soviet Foreign Office or to official soviet representatives abroad. An occasional exception is made to this rule, as a matter of courtesy. Thus, during the past few years, I have been able to assist a number of Senators and Congressmen who wished to make the necessary arrangements for a visit to the Soviet Union. In one case an American diplomat bound for an eastern post desired to save himself an arduous roundabout journey

by taking a short-cut across soviet territory. At my suggestion, the Soviet Government immediately granted the necessary visas for the diplomat and his family.

I have never hitherto given public reference to these matters and I do so now with great reluctance: but at this time, when hatreds and mendacities against the people and the Government of the Soviet Union are being so widely aired in the United States, I deem it necessary to call them to the attention of this committee.

In the course of the testimony before this committee, photostats of certain alleged documents have been submitted, the so-called Whalen documents, in which the name "Sversky" is referred to as a sort of paymaster for some vague political conspiracy. Former Commissioner Whalen has stated that "Sversky" means Skvirsky. Apparently the person who prepared the "document" was ignorant of the spelling of my name.

First, I wish to deny emphatically and totally before this committee the implications contained in these photostats of "documents," both as applied to me and as applied to soviet business men, engineers, scientists, and students who have visited the United States. The soviet visitors to this country come in connection with immediate trade matters or for scientific study connected with the development of their country, and indirectly related to business development. All come on visas furnished by American consuls. In not one case has there been a suggestion by any American official of misconduct or impropriety on the part of any of these visitors. I, of course, include officers and employees of the Amtorg Trading Corporation in this statement.

Second, these "documents" have the familiar earmarks of previous forgeries of a similar nature and purpose, the proven work of Tsarist emigres, directed against the Soviet Union. I will recall to you one instance. In January, 1929, it was revealed that certain emigre forgers had attempted to place with an American newspaper correspondent in Berlin certain "documents" purporting to show that Senators William E. Borah and George W. Norris had received large sums of money from the soviet representative in Paris to work for recognition of the Soviet Government. The emigre forgers were captured by the Berlin police, they were tried and convicted, and their conviction was sustained by a higher court. Also a committee of the United States Senate investigated the documents and declared them forgeries. As I stated when the Whalen "documents" were first published, they are a link in the same disreputable chain as the Borah-Norris forgeries. I stated then that "the purpose of these forgeries is always the same, to disrupt soviet relations with other countries and particularly to cripple the foreign trade of the Soviet Union." In the present case the object is undoubtedly to destroy the structure of American-Soviet trade, which has been built upon laboriously during the past six years with profit to both countries.

The Whalen "documents" purport to represent a conspiratorial interchange between certain employees and officers of the Amtorg Trading Corporation and one "Feodor" of the Comintern, or Third International. Your committee has already heard testimony that the letterheads purporting to be those of the Comintern were printed in New York. You have heard both the printer and the New York newspaper man who traced down the printing shop. You have

listened to an analysis of the "documents" by Mr. Michael, resident attorney of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, showing numerous discrepancies and mistakes in the "documents." I am confident that a thorough investigation as to the identity of the forgers would reveal exactly the same sort of conspiracy as was bared in Berlin in 1929.

In its early years the American Government was menaced by calumny and scandal abroad, often fomented by unscrupulous tory groups; the Soviet Union has been faced by similar attacks, and has had to meet conditions even more difficult and more complex than those that confronted the young American Republic. The hostile campaigns against the Soviet Union have greatly increased in intensity during the past few months. The Russian emigre groups seem to have definitely included the United States into the scope of their vicious activities and adventures against the Soviet Union.

In their efforts, these groups attempt to build up a war psychology against the Soviet Union and stir up international hatreds which are dangerous and a menace to peace.

It is to be regretted that unfounded accusations continue to be heard against the Soviet Union, a great country of 150,000,000 people. First we had a fine harvest of stories about the famous "nationalization of women." Later came tales of the persecution of religion. At present the accusations concern themselves with more prosaic matters, such as stories that the Soviet Union is charitably forcing real values upon its wealthier neighbors at below-cost prices, in order to demoralize foreign markets by cutting its own throat, or stories about the enslavement of labor, in what is basically a workers' republic.

Friendly and mutually profitable foreign relations between countries can not be built on misrepresentations. The Soviet Union is wholly absorbed in its task of building up its national economy along socialistic lines. It is striving for peace and friendly relations with all countries, and it welcomes any disposition on the part of other nations which promises to strengthen peace and promote better relationships.

THE CHAIRMAN. What are the names of the publications you issue here?

MR. SKVIRSKY. The Soviet Union Review is a monthly magazine. I have a copy here I can show you. The Year Book is the Soviet Union Year Book; then the constitution. Here is the last December number.

THE CHAIRMAN. Of the Soviet Union Review?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Yes, and here is the number for November.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is that the only publication you issue?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Yes; the only monthly issue.

THE CHAIRMAN. You present these for the committee to retain do you?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Yes, please.

(The publication above referred to was marked as an exhibit, "Skvirsky No. 1.")

MR. SKVIRSKY. I can send you copies of all of our publications.

MR. BACHMANN. Now Skvirsky No. 1 is a copy of the December issue, 1930, of the Soviet Union Review?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Yes; and this is the constitution which I publish.

MR. BACHMANN. And Skvirsky No. 2 is the Constitution of the Union of Socialist Republics, under date of 1929; is that right?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, it is the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The CHAIRMAN. What are your other publications?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Year Books. I have a Year Book of the Soviet Union, which contains all of the information about the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. When were they published?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well the last Year Book has been published about two years ago, 1929.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the latest?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. That is the latest; we didn't publish any more—

The CHAIRMAN. Are you publishing another one now?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I am expecting to; but not so soon.

The CHAIRMAN. When do you expect to have it published?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Some time later; six months later. It is difficult to publish the Year Book.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other publications?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I had published the Patent Laws, besides the constitution. Then, several years ago, I had one on The Agrarian Revolution in Russia, what has happened to date in that field. Then one about finances.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any others?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't think so. I don't remember. I will send you all of the pamphlets—everything I published.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you publish them?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Whereabouts?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The printer?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The name of the printer is on the Soviet Review, I suppose.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they all published by the same printer?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. All publications?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think one was published—the Soviet Union Year Book was published—in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. All of the others are by a Washington printer?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, sir; all of the others are by a Washington printer.

Mr. ESICK. This [indicating] says "Published by the Soviet Union Information Bureau, 1637 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C."

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I will send you the name of the printer.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the name of the printer?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, yes; we deal with him; I will send you the name of the printer.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell me his address?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In Washington?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The editor of the paper looks after it. I never deal with him.

The CHAIRMAN. You are responsible for the paper, are you not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Certainly; I am responsible for everything my office does.

The CHAIRMAN. And could not you tell me the name of the printer?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I will gladly tell you. If you wish, I will ask my assistant here and shortly give it to you.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be a very good idea.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He will telephone and get it for you.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the circulation of the Soviet Union Review?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The circulation?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, it is about over 5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Over 5,000?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It used to be less. I am sending this to the Government departments—all the departments in the Government here.

The CHAIRMAN. You send this to all of the Government departments?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, yes. The first people who get it are the Government departments, then a number of Senators, the Foreign Relations Committee—I think, if I am not mistaken—the Foreign Relations Committee of the House, too; then general business men and those subscribers, that is, those who are interested in it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you send it free?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Partly free and partly to subscribers—those who are interested in it.

The CHAIRMAN. And your circulation—

Mr. SKVIRSKY. At the present time is about 5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. A little bit over 5,000?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And what part of the circulation is free and what part is paid?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, about several hundred, I suppose; maybe about 1,000. I would not say exactly, now; maybe one-sixth; mostly free.

The CHAIRMAN. Mostly free?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. About 4,000 free and 1,000 paid—or how many paid?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Possibly more. I think I can look it up and give it to you; about that.

The CHAIRMAN. About a thousand paid, and 4,000 free?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have it marked here "20 cents a copy?"

Mr. SKVIRSKY. For those who buy it.

The CHAIRMAN. For those who buy it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Because in some places it is being sold.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the expenses of that publication?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean just this publication?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Not much. I can tell about the expense of all the bureau. Everything involved is about \$40,000, altogether—myself, with the staff. I have five assistants. Everything included is about \$40,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You have five assistants?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they live with you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; only one lives with me; but they live in Washington and work here.

The CHAIRMAN. They all live in Washington?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; mostly American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. They are mostly American citizens?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give the names?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; I have them here.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you read the names, so we can get them in the record?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. Mr. Harold Kellock, who is statistical director of the bureau, and American adviser; Jessica Smith, editor of the Soviet Union Review; S. N. Cheloff is acting secretary; Sylvia Feldstone is a Russian typist, and Florence Blechman is the English typist.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say all of these people are American citizens?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Mr. Kellock is an American; Jessica Smith is an American; Mr. Cheloff is an American citizen; Sylvia Feldstone—yes, she is an American citizen—Florence Blechman is an American citizen. All American citizens. Two of them are Americans, born here—three born here and two born in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Which two were born in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Mr. Cheloff and Miss Feldstone.

The CHAIRMAN. They were born in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; the rest of them were born in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. These men are all paid by your organization?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; paid by me—by my organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pay of Mr. Harold Kellock?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He gets \$450 a month.

The CHAIRMAN. He gets \$450 a month?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And all these five people live in the city of Washington?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. Mr. Kellock has been here—

The CHAIRMAN. And you say your total expenses there are \$40,000 a year?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you obtain the funds; where do you obtain this \$40,000.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Already I told you I was officially connected with the Soviet Government. The foreign office of the Soviet Government sends my pay.

The CHAIRMAN. The foreign office of the Soviet Government puts up the funds?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Puts up this \$40,000 for this publication?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And does that cover all publications, or just this particular one?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Everything; I mean all the work for the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. It pays the salaries of these people, too?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And all the printing and circulation?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Everything; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. \$40,000 will cover——

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; everything.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). The printing and publication?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have been dealing with one bank for all nine years I have been in Washington, and this can be established by the book.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your bank?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. At Dupont Circle. That is a branch bank; it is called now Federal Exchange. It merged with some other bank lately. At the present time I think it is called Federal American National.

The CHAIRMAN. You know the name of your bank where you keep your bank account, don't you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. It is a new name, changed only about two weeks ago. Mr. Snyder is director. I forget exactly.

Mr. BACHMANN. It is a branch of the Federal American; it used to be the Merchants?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Merchants Bank & Trust Co.; that is it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is where you keep these funds sent from the foreign office; is that it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you keep your own funds?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, if you may call them funds, I use the Riggs Bank, in the same place; I mean the branch opposite Dupont Circle.

The CHAIRMAN. And where do you keep the funds for the upkeep of your own office?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. This is my office; the Soviet Information Bureau is my office. It includes everything. I have no other funds and no other expenses.

Mr. MARSHALL. Here is the name of the printer.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you put that in the record?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is Terminal Press, 923 Eleventh Street NW.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only press you use?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. At the present time, the only press.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever used any others?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I said in the past I used one in New York for the last Year Book, which was about two years ago. I don't remember the name.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that Doctor Trachtenberg's organization?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No—you mean the name of the printer?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of the place where you have the printing done here?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Terminal Press.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only place in Washington you use for your publications?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. I don't use any other place.

The CHAIRMAN. You state you have five people who edit and write for this Soviet Union Review; is that correct?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, just for the office; not only for the Review, because I have numerous visitors. We have numerous inquiries from every part of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, those people live there?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They don't live there; they live in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. They work there in your house—or office?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In my office.

The CHAIRMAN. Are your office and house in the same building?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, I live there and one of my assistants. Nobody else.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Cheloff.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the same man who is acting secretary?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; a young man.

The CHAIRMAN. S. N. Cheloff?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he an American citizen?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; he is.

The CHAIRMAN. Born in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a communist?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; not a communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Not a communist?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. None of my assistants are communists. I have not a single communist assistant.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other people employed in your office besides these people?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. Occasionally they come there; whenever I have very much to do, we just call up the employment office and get somebody for a few days, or a few weeks, or something of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. You have your own domestic people there?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean for cleaning the house, looking after the house?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a butler?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No butler.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no cooks or servants?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have one servant who looks after the house.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a man who looks after the house?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. A janitor and cleaner. He works for a salary.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a cook?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, sir: a servant, and a cook.

The CHAIRMAN. So you have two; you have a man and a woman there to look after the domestic service?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They are not down here in these names you have given?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; that is just the office. I did not know you were interested—

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I wish to say here, as I said before, all publications are sent to the department. I have always kept in touch with most of the departments in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated to the committee you helped to get visas. Do you help to get visas for people to come into the United States—Russians?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. For Russians?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. This, as was made clear by Amtorg, is done through a firm of lawyers.

The CHAIRMAN. What firm?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett get the necessary visas. I don't take an interest in those myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not help anyone to come into the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do get visas for Americans who go into Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, as I made clear in my statement, in the absence of relations there is nobody here who could issue a visa; so Americans who want to go have to apply directly to the foreign office in Moscow, or the Soviet ambassadors in Europe. I occasionally—you see, there are a number of Congressmen I helped to go to Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly; that is what I want to find out. For the benefit of the committee and the record, to whom do you apply for visas?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I refer them to the foreign office.

The CHAIRMAN. You refer them to the foreign office?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I am advising a person who wants to go to send a letter of application directly to the foreign office in Moscow, and I write simultaneously that such a man is going to apply, and I ask them to accord the courtesy to this man and permit him to enter.

The CHAIRMAN. You write direct to the foreign office?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I write direct to the foreign office.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not write to Berlin?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, no; I write direct to the foreign office, because the man writes them. You see visas are granted by the foreign office.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he get it, here, or in Berlin?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No, he can not get it here; he has to get it in Berlin, Paris, or London, wherever there is an official ambassador. He applies there and gets the visa. Here, I am not official, so I can not issue visas.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you communicate with the foreign office, by letter?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. By letter, yes. Then, if it is urgent, sometimes by a cable; usually just by letter.

The CHAIRMAN. With the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. It depends: sometimes the Commissar of Foreign Affairs; sometimes with the visa department, what we call the consular department. It depends on the nature of my request.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you communicate, by letter or cable?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. As you know, either by letter or cable. Suppose, when the documents were published about Senator Borah—you know I made clear to you about the forged documents—Senator Borah asked me to see whether the matter could be cleared up; it was an urgent matter, and at that time I cabled to Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you use a code when you cable?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Sometimes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a code, then?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Sometimes I use it; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to give your code to the committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. For what reason?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is a code for me, my personal code, and no codes are being given to anybody, especially where other governments are involved, other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have no official capacity in this country, have you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No, I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet you use a code and are unwilling to let the committee have that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; a personal code.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing you want to cover up?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Absolutely not. If there was, I would not have been here for nine years. As you know, I have been here since 1921, to 1930, being in communication always with every department. I suppose you can inquire of every department whether they have anything—whether there are any illegal activities on my part.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not saying there is, at all; but, if there is not, I do not see any objection to your giving the code to us. Of course, if you do not want to, that is another matter. What officials do you see in the State Department?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Usually the man in charge of the Eastern European Division, which is the Russian Division, Mr. Kelley. In other departments, I see other people whenever necessary; but, mostly, I do all of the things through the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the direct representative, as I understand—

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Unofficial.

The CHAIRMAN. Unofficial, direct representative, of the foreign office of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have been that for the last eight years?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And is it customary for the Soviet Government to keep their representatives for as long as that in the same post?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In the same post?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well I suppose it depends on either the man, or whether they need the man anywhere else, you know; it depends; or the Government may keep him shifting around.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you make all of your reports right to the foreign office of the Soviet Government, do you not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bachmann asked you the question if you had ever declared your intention of becoming an American citizen?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never applied in any way to become a citizen?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. Only when I had to go to Russia, in 1924, the first time I was about to leave, I received from the Department of Labor the papers as a resident. So, usually, when I go to Russia, I receive a permit to reenter the United States. I am going to Russia; I am coming back; I do not need any visa to go back. I go just as a visitor, on the strength of the permit which I obtain from the Department of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get that straight: You say you have not applied for first papers?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Chairman, he says he is a communist. If he is, he could not honestly apply for citizenship in this country, even if he wanted to change.

The CHAIRMAN. That is why I am asking. The information given to me is that he had applied, and that is what I am finding out from him. So you have made no attempt to become a citizen of this country in any way?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But when you go over there, you go as a resident of the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. I have been here nine years.

The CHAIRMAN. So, when you get a permit to reenter, you get it as a resident of the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. When I go, I usually apply to the Department of Labor at Washington for a permit to reenter, which is usually granted in a week or so. With the permit I go to Russia and come back.

The CHAIRMAN. How often do you go to Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, I have been three times. The last time I was there was last year.

The CHAIRMAN. You were over there last year?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have only been there three times in the last nine years?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, sir: three times.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any connection with the American communists?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever done any business with Doctor Trachtenberg?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Doctor Trachtenberg?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr SKVIRSKY. Well, he is in charge of the International Publisher, so my office did business, yes, sir, buying books, sometimes; because they publish books on various phases and sometimes they are interesting to us. I have a library of everything about Russia, so I usually buy those.

The CHAIRMAN. You do?

Ma. SKVIRSKY. Yes, sir; for my own office—buy books from time to time.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever had any printing done by him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Not by him. I gave the book of mine two years ago, the Year Book I published—I think it was published by the same printer where he publishes.

The CHAIRMAN. So you have had some printing done by Trachtenberg?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Not Trachtenberg; by the printer.

The CHAIRMAN. By the printer. You know Trachtenberg?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, yes; I have known him several years.

The CHAIRMAN. He is an American communist, is he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is an American communist. You didn't ask me if I knew anybody; you asked me if I had any connection with the American Communist Party. I said "No." I think he is about the only man I know; maybe there is one more.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Nock?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Mr. Nock?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Mr. Nock was working at my office for several years, and his wife—

The CHAIRMAN. What did he do?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He was editor of my magazine, before.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he do now?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He lives in New York. If I am not mistaken, he does some work for the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, translating.

The CHAIRMAN. What name does he go by now; do you know?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. What name does he go by now?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't remember his name. I think his name is Norton.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did he work for you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He worked for me several years.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he leave you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He left me about a year and a half ago, or two years ago. He is not a communist; he never belonged to any political party.

The CHAIRMAN. Well I did not ask you that question. He was known as Nock when he worked for you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long did he work for you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. How long did he work for me? About three years.

The CHAIRMAN. About three years?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did he hold?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He was editor of the magazine.

The CHAIRMAN. He was editor?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When his name was Nock, was he an American citizen?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't think so; I don't know. I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he is an American citizen now?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I could not tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where he is working now, as Norton?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know where he is working now. I think he was translating for the chamber of commerce—the American Russian Chamber of Commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he holds a position in the Chase National Bank?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In the Chase National Bank?

The CHAIRMAN. In New York?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know; I could not tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. You could not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; since he left me, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. How many years was he with you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He was with me about three or four.

The CHAIRMAN. As editor of the paper?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know a man by the name of Trotsky?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Miss Trotsky?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. His wife. She was my secretary, before.

The CHAIRMAN. Your secretary?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. She used to be; she works now in Amtorg.

The CHAIRMAN. She works now with Amtorg?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. She had been with about five years, I suppose.

The CHAIRMAN. Is she an American citizen?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Her name, by the way, is Trotsky—just Trotsky.

The CHAIRMAN. She was your employee for five years?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When did she leave you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. She left me several months ago; about three months.

The CHAIRMAN. Three months ago?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Two or three.

The CHAIRMAN. She is the wife of Norton?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know where Norton is working now?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I told you my recollection is he is doing some work for the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether he work for the Chase National Bank?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. But when Nock was working for you, he was not an American citizen?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think he was not; so I understood, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. And Miss Trotsky—

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think she was.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Trotsky was not an American citizen when she worked for you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think she was. I may not be correct, but this is my impression.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I knew, but forgot. There was no secret about the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no; I was just trying to get the information and facts. She was with you for how long?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. About five years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether she is an American citizen, or not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think she is; but, when she became a citizen, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. She was not at first when she came with you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I could not tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether she was an American citizen when she came with you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Maybe I did know, but I forgot. I have lots of things to think of. I don't remember now.

The CHAIRMAN. You have five employees?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; but I usually see more than five people every day.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know a man by the name of Max Rabinoff?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Max Rabinoff?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, sir; I saw this man several times.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your association with him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Nothing; just an acquaintance. I saw him several times. I knew he was working, was connected with the opera business before, as a business man; that is all I know about him.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he do now?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you know him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In New York; I saw him several times before. I first met him—I remember him just about 1919, when I came over to this country—I suppose a year or so after that. Then I saw him another few times; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Sverdloff?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Mr. Sverdloff?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean the one working for the Centrosoyus office in New York?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; I have known him.

The CHAIRMAN. You have known him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have known him; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever seen him in Washington?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Mr. Sverdloff?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; he was in charge of the Centrosoyus office in New York; then, if I am not mistaken, he went away west.

The CHAIRMAN. To Seattle?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Then, if I am not mistaken, I think he went to Russia, or is about to go there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Doctor Sheftel?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, I did. He is in Russia now. He was representative of the public health department.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your connection with him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, he represented the public health department. My connection was the same as with everybody else who was from Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Shuster?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have known Mr. Shuster. He is in Russia now. He was working at Amtorg.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he go to Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He went to Russia about two months ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Earl Browder?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; never met him.

The CHAIRMAN. You never met Mr. Browder?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Nor Mr. Harrison George?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever met Mr. Ziavkin?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, at Amtorg.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever meet him in Washington?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Mr. Ziavkin—I don't remember that he was ever in Washington; maybe he was.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see him in Washington?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If he was in Washington, I suppose I saw him. Sometimes he comes over to Washington for an hour or two.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no reason why you should not see him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, but I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the last time you saw him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If he was in Washington, it must have been once—

The CHAIRMAN. How long ago was it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Several months ago.

The CHAIRMAN. The last time you have seen him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; I was in New York lately; I see people in New York every two or three weeks, most of the people there in Amtorg.

The CHAIRMAN. You go to New York regularly, do you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; I am in New York regularly every two or three weeks, because they have people ask to see me, so I see them in New York. I usually go to the office of Amtorg, and see the people there.

The CHAIRMAN. And naturally, when they come down here they come to see you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Ziavkin comes to see you when he comes down here?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I suppose, if he was there, I saw him in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Has Mr. Ziavkin ever been to your office?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I say, if he was, I saw him in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know whether he ever was in Washington; I am asking you.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, but I don't remember whether I ever saw him in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. If you don't remember, just say so. You do not remember whether you ever saw him in your office in Washington, at all?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Perhaps, if he was here. I don't know. I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you happen to know Dr. Reid was a colonel in the Reserve Corps? You heard him testify this morning.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If my memory serves me right, I don't remember ever seeing Captain Reid. If I did see him, I would be surprised; maybe I saw him.

Mr. NELSON. You spoke in your statement of the hatred existing in America for the Soviet Government: Is not that hatred directed more at its extension into this country rather than its application to its own internal affairs in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, I have been here for nine years and I have seen everything which has been done in the Soviet Union has been misrepresented.

Mr. NELSON. That may be, but you do not find any hatred on the part of the American people directed at the Soviet Government regulating its own internal affairs?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. My own experience shows me this——

Mr. NELSON. Do you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Whenever the American people know the real facts, they are friends of Russia; when they don't know the facts, of course, they are then.

Mr. NELSON. What I asked you was, you do not find in America any extensive hatred on the part of our people for the Soviet Government, or the Russian people, in their right to carry on their own internal affairs as they see fit, do you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, unless it is artificial.

Mr. NELSON. What?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Unless it has been created artificially. You see, the escaped Russian monarchists here in this country are very active; are active at the present time in Europe. I suppose you have heard about the trial that has taken place lately in Moscow. They are active now and have been in the last year in Russia, first about the religious belief, and then about the nationalization of women, and everything.

Mr. NELSON. Do not you find in this country a great deal of sympathy for the Russian people and their attempt to establish a stable government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. My experience is this, that whenever the people know the real facts in Russia, they are in sympathy; but whenever they don't know, you have the situation as you see it now. I am sorry to see—I regret to see—how much is being done in this country to misrepresent Russia.

Mr. NELSON. Then your idea is the American people do not understand Russia's efforts and do not sympathize in their efforts, naturally?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. What I have to say is this, that the American people don't know sufficiently the real facts about the situation. Personally, while I have been here, what I have been trying to do through

my bureau is just to give some of the real facts, and those Americans with whom I have come in contact, I would say there are thousands, since I have been here for nine years, and every one, it has been my experience, when they learn the real situation, they are becoming friendly and sympathetic.

Mr. NELSON. You would not blame the American people for resenting any attempt, if there were any, on the part of the Soviet Government to spread propaganda in this country aiming at the overthrow of our institutions?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I wish to state most emphatically——

Mr. NELSON. I say you would not blame the American people for resenting that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If there were any; but there is no such thing.

Mr. NELSON. I am not assuming there is, but I say you would not blame them if there were those attempts?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Did you hold any official position in the Communist Party before you came to the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. I was, before I came to the United States, Assistant Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Far Eastern Republic, in Chita, which is the Russian Far East; and, before that, I was in what you call here a state government—they had a provisional government in the maritime province, and I was there. This was during the intervention of the foreign troops in the Russian Far East as you know, there were foreign troops including the American troops.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you have any official position in the Communist Party in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No official position; I have only a position with the Soviet Government.

Mr. BACHMANN. You have no official connection with the Communist Party of America.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. Does the Communist Party of America have any official connection with the Communist Party of Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, all Communist Parties, as you know, have their own organization—international organization.

Mr. BACHMANN. My question was, Has the Communist Party of America any connection with the Communist Party of Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Possibly so, through the international organization.

Mr. BACHMANN. Your answer is, then, it does have some connection?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Through the international organization—I suppose so.

Mr. BACHMANN. You know it does through the Communist International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. There is such a thing.

Mr. BACHMANN. I say you know it has some connection with the Communist Party of Russia through the Communist International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. The Communist Party of Russia has representatives in the Third International, the same as any other party.

Mr. BACHMANN. What is the purpose of the Communist Party in America?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Why don't you—I think it would be reasonable if you would apply to the representatives of the American Communist Party, if there is such a question. Why do you ask me? I can tell you anything about the Soviet Government——

Mr. BACHMANN. Because the Communist Party of Russia is controlling the Soviet Government.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Communist Party of Russia controls in an indirect way.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, it is a fact; the fact is it is controlling the Soviet Government, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In an indirect way, inasmuch as maybe the Republican Party controls the American Government.

Mr. BACHMANN. What is indirect about it? It has direct control of the Government; has it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. You must understand the soviet constitution. The Soviet Government is directly responsible to the central executive committee, which is being all the time mixed up. I have read the testimony here; it is always being mixed up. The central committee of the Communist Party is being mixed up all the time with the central executive committee, which is our congress, and our government is elected by the central executive committee, which is our congress.

Mr. BACHMANN. And the central executive committee is composed of communists in the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The central executive committee is composed of communists and noncommunists. There are about one-third noncommunists. We have elections at the present time in Russia, which will take maybe to complete about a month or two, then we will be able to read how many communists. The majority are communists; the Communist Party in Russia enjoys the complete confidence of the people.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you are a member of the Russian Communist Party and unofficial representative, as such, in the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Unofficial representative of the foreign office. It means the Soviet Government; I don't represent the party; I represent the state, or foreign office.

Mr. BACHMANN. Now what is the purpose of the Communist Party of America; what is it trying to accomplish here?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know. You will have to apply for that to the American communists; I am a Russian.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you do not know anything about the American Communist Party, or what its purpose is?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't see why I should be asked; I am not an expert on the American party; I don't see why I should answer; I don't see why a Russian should answer what the purpose of the American Communist Party is.

Mr. BACHMANN. Because the American Communist Party is affiliated and a member of the Communist International, the same as your Russian Communist Party is——

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Then why don't you ask——

Mr. BACHMANN (continuing). And it is directed from Moscow.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I am not an official of the Communist International.

Mr. BACHMANN. I know you are not, but I asked you, if you know, if you would tell the committee what the purpose of the Communist

Party of America is—if you know. I do not want you to feel that I am antagonistic to you in asking the question. There are a lot of people who have testified before this committee and told this committee a lot of things about the Russian Communist Party and the American Communist Party, and here you are the unofficial representative of the Soviet Government, and a member of the Russian Communist Party, in the United States.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. What do you mean by American Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. BACHMANN. If you know what the truth of it is, I would like you to tell the committee. If you do not know, of course you can not tell the committee.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I understand. But since there is a Communist Party here, its members of the Communist Party will be able to tell you. I am not a member of the American Communist Party.

Mr. BACHMANN. Your answer is you do not know what the purpose of the American Communist Party is, then, in this country?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. My statement is I do not belong to the American Communist Party and it is up to the American Communist Party to answer this question.

Mr. BACHMANN. Now I did not ask you whether you belonged; I asked you whether you knew what the purpose of the American Communist Party was in this country. Do you know, or don't you know?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have given you my answer.

Mr. BACHMANN. No, you have not yet answered that question. You can say you do not know, or you do know. If you do not know, I would be glad to have you say so.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Communist Party is everywhere. I suppose, I can presume, the Communist Parties of every country have a program, their own program. I suppose you have read the program of the American Communist Party.

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes; but I did not ask you that; I asked you whether or not you know, or do not know what the program is, or the purpose is, of the Communist Party of America?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I suppose it is the same program as any other Communist Party.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, do you know?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I know the program of the Communist Party of Russia, certainly.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you know what the program of the American Communist Party is? Could not you answer that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I said, probably the American Communist Party has the program of the communists.

Mr. BACHMANN. I know, but you are qualifying it with "probably." I have not asked you that; I asked you whether you know what the purpose of the American Communist Party is. That is easily answered, if you know, yes; if you do not know, no.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Every Communist Party wants to have established communism in the country.

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Congressman, may I consult with my client for a moment?

Mr. BACHMANN. All right; I have no objection.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I presume the program of the Communist Party of America is the same as of any other Communist Party.

Mr. BACHMANN. It is the same as the program of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Russian Communist Party has its program, as you know. We had the revolution in Russia, and at the present time, as a result we have a Soviet Government. The Soviet Government is building socialism there. We had our revolution.

Mr. BACHMANN. Let us see if I can get you to answer this: Then the purpose of the American Communist Party is the same as the Russian Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I presume so. But you had here, only a few days ago, the representatives of the American Communist Party. I suppose they told you all about it. I do not see why I, as a Russian—I think I could tell you more about Russia, than tell you about America. I am not an American and I am kept sufficiently busy to do my business in connection with the Soviet Union.

Mr. BACHMANN. What is the purpose of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The purpose of the Russian Communist Party is to build a classless society, socialist society, in Russia and, as you know, for this purpose capitalism was overthrown in Russia. We have no capitalism; we have a soviet form of government, and Russia is building a classless society.

Mr. BACHMANN. Classless society?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Classless; without classes. You know, there is no private property, or land, factories, and so on: it belongs all to the State. Russia is engaged in building socialism and, in Russia, we had our revolution. Now every soviet citizen working abroad is just working for the government and strengthening the Soviet Union.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is just what the Communist Party of America is seeking to accomplish in the United States, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If you ask an American, maybe he will tell you. I am just interested in Russia and the Soviet Union.

Mr. BACHMANN. But you told me the purpose of all Communist Parties is the same, and now you tell me the purpose of the Communist Party in Russia is to establish communism—a classless society.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Socialism?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Now I ask you if that is the purpose of the Communist Party in America?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I presume so.

Mr. BACHMANN. They want to do in the United States just what they have done in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I suppose so.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, while they are trying to accomplish that in the United States, then you tell the committee here you are spending your time trying to work out a better relationship between the Soviet Government and the Government of the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. In other words, you want this country to be on better relations, to have better relations with the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In the interests of both countries.

Mr. BACHMANN. And, at the same time, you are endeavoring to establish a classless society and socialism in the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In the Soviet Union, we are established already. I am a soviet citizen; I am not an American citizen. There are different Communist Parties. You should apply to them.

Mr. BACHMANN. You said, wherever you told the American people the real facts about Russia, that in every instance they had a different idea about Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you tell these people you talk to the facts about what the communists are trying to do in the United States; that what the Communist Party of Russia and the Communist International are seeking to do is to overthrow capitalism?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Communist International has nothing to do with the Soviet Government. As you have heard stated on many occasions, the Soviet Government has nothing to do with the International. It is the National Government.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you tell those people about the way you are convinced you have things in Russia and do you tell them you are seeking to overthrow capitalism and to establish a classless society in this country?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I tell them that capitalism was overthrown in Russia; that is why Russia had this revolution: for that, at the present time, there is a Soviet Government and that all these ideas spread in the United States, that the Soviet Government carries on propaganda here, are not the real facts.

Mr. BACHMANN. Are not the real facts?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They ask me about it. They usually ask me more and usually, when we discuss it fully, quietly, they begin to realize that too much misinformation is being spread in this country about Russia.

Mr. BACHMANN. You tell the people here about the amount of money the Soviet Government spends in the United States and about the trade relations between the United States and the Soviet Government, but you do not tell them anything about what the Communist Party is seeking to do in the United States, do you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Russian Communist Party?

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Russian Communist Party—I just told you what the Russian Communist Party is doing in Russia.

Mr. BACHMANN. But you do not tell them what they are trying to do in the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I could not tell them what they are trying to do in the United States. They are Americans.

Mr. BACHMANN. You do not tell them what all Communist Parties are trying to do in the United States, do you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I never discuss with anybody questions which are only of concern to Americans. Since I have been here for nine years, I have never interfered in American affairs, which are purely American, and the Soviet Government always insists that no foreigner should mix into Russian affairs, and here at this time—I think I can make this statement—the Soviet Government is being

accused of carrying on propaganda in Germany, and so on, in various countries, but the Soviet Government at no time has tried to overthrow any government; yet you know we had foreign governments which sent troops to Russia to overthrow the Soviet Government.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is not that because the Communist Party dominates the Soviet Government and also dominates the Third International? That is the basis for it, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If this is the basis, I am surprised, because this means only interference in the affairs of a foreign country; because, what Russia wants to have in Russia I do not think is of any concern to anybody else, and yet they sent troops to overthrow the Russian Government, which was a direct interference with Russian affairs. This has been done by all governments: as you know, there were American troops sent to Russia.

Mr. BACHMANN. You do not know of the Government of the United States having any political party in Russia, do you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No political party; but there are numerous Americans in Russia: there are about 2,000 American engineers there: there are correspondents of all the American papers, of the largest ones, that have their representatives abroad, and if the Soviet Government were to bring about the same argument as applies to some Russians here, they would have suspected every American there—that he is trying nothing else, but only dream—he does not eat, does not sleep, but thinks only of overthrowing the Russian Government. As you know, the Russian Government does not do that; they do not suspect any American until they get the facts about it. But what is going on here? Every Russian over here is suspected that he does not eat, does not sleep, but only thinks of overthrowing the Government of the United States.

Mr. BACHMANN. What is your opinion as to why that is true?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Why the Russians are suspected?

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. On account of the antisoviet propaganda of a lot of people in this country, a lot of foreigners, and a lot of Americans.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is it not because your Communist Party in Russia, dominating the Soviet Government over there, is endeavoring to revolutionize the world and to establish socialism all over the world?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Not the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government is recognized by the mass of the people.

Mr. BACHMANN. But that is the purpose of the Communist Party of Russia, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Communist Party has achieved it there: we have had the social revolution in Russia. You have to realize this fact, that we had the social revolution in Russia and we are working, of course, everybody who does anything, we are working to strengthen our State.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, Stalin is the unofficial head of the Soviet Government, is he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; Stalin is the head of the Communist Party. Stalin is not the head of the Soviet Government.

Mr. BACHMANN. And as secretary of the Communist Party, he dictates the policy of the Soviet Government in Russia, does he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No member of the Communist Party can dictate directly to the Government. The Government is responsible to the Soviet congress, which elects the central executive committee, and if the Communist Party has no confidence in any member that he may carry out this party's resolution, then the communists who are in the central executive committee may carry out and usually they do carry out the wishes of the Communist Party. But not directly. I have seen many statements here that if the Communist Party, or the central committee, or anybody wants to remove any member of the committee, they can do it, and I wish to say here, to state, that this never has been done: it is not being done. If you want to compare, let's take for a moment, the American Constitution, in the case of impeaching the President. The President of the United States can be impeached by Congress only, but the initiative for this may come from the people; it may come from the Republican Party, or any party. And the same thing is in Russia; the initiative for removing a member of the Government may come from the Russian people, in general, through the Communist Party, but can be done only through the Soviet congress, by the Central Executive Committee. As you know, then we have authority above the central executive committee; once in two years we have a congress of soviets of all Russia, which includes several thousand members. Usually there are two-thirds communists and about one-third nonpartisan. Everything the Government does is ratified by the Central Executive Committee; everything the central executive committee does is ratified afterwards, approved, by the congress of the soviets, which has several thousand people.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do not you think you would succeed in establishing better friendly relations between the Government of the United States and the Soviet Government, if this propaganda that is being spread, through the Communist Party of America, were stopped?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. With every country with which the Soviet Government has relations, there is always a clause that no party is to interfere with the internal affairs of the other country. The Soviet Government has said, on many occasions, that it is not responsible for the acts of the Third International. For instance, you take our relations with Italy; notwithstanding the different character of the governments in Italy and in Russia, we have never had any trouble with Italy; the Soviet Government has trade and diplomatic relations with Italy and the same thing would be true in the relationship with the United States.

Mr. BACHMANN. Are you familiar with conditions in the Russian Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. There has been considerable testimony before this committee about convict labor and enforced labor being used in the production of certain commodities in Russia and shipped to the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. What have you to tell the committee about that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I wish to state that we have no convict labor, have no forced labor. We are a country of workers, a workers' republic, and how could they have forced labor in such a country? The difficulty we have in Russia now is in connection with the 5-year plan. We have

about 13,000,000 workers; it is the only country where there is no unemployment. We can not get enough workers. The difficulty in Russia now, as for instance, in the coal districts, is in the turnover of the workers who go from one place and then to another place where there are better conditions for the worker, better places to live, and so on. This is the trouble we have in Russia; the workers move too much at the present time. You see, we have two types of workers in Russia, one type of worker is purely an industrial type, used to work in the factory for many years; the other type just come in the village for a month, or two months, or three months—of course, they are not used to staying in one place—and work for a few days there and then go to some other place. There is the problem we have at the present time.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you know how many prisoners there are in the prisons in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know exactly the number, but certainly far less than before the war—before the revolution.

Mr. BACHMANN. I mean at this time?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not know.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do the prisoners have to work?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The prisoners usually, in most places, do work.

Mr. BACHMANN. What kind of work do they perform?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They usually do the work that they need. You mean in jails, or the so-called colonies?

Mr. BACHMANN. In the colonies.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Usually every colony is trying to be self-sustaining, which means that they have their own dairies, have their own fisheries, have their own gardens. The government is trying to teach them, everyone, to learn a trade, with the idea when you leave this colony you get out and be an honest citizen, and do work in a proper way.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do the prisoners in the colonies cut timber?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The prisoners in the colonies cut timber for their own needs.

Mr. BACHMANN. For their own needs?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, certainly; they cut timber for their own needs, but not for export as they are being accused. They cut timber for their own needs, when they need it. But we hold there is no such thing as their cutting timber for export; such accusations are baseless and usually come from Russian monarchists.

(The committee thereupon took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened pursuant to the taking of the recess, Hon. Hamilton Fish, jr. (chairman), presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Skvirsky, will you resume the stand?

TESTIMONY OF BORIS E. SKVIRSKY—Continued

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have here all the publications of the bureau; the old ones and the new ones.

The CHAIRMAN. These are all the publications?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. I wonder if you could not give each member of the committee a copy of the constitution?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; I will be glad to send it.

Mr. BACHMANN. Send each member of the committee a copy of the constitution?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I will be glad to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you mark these as exhibits.

(The papers above referred to were marked as Exhibits "Skvirsky No. 3" to "Skvirsky No. 10," inclusive.)

Mr. NELSON. I was interested in what you said, Mr. Skvirsky, in regard to the organization over in Russia and the mistakes that possibly might have crept into the record, especially in regard to the central executive committee. Now, as I understand it, there are three, still are, distinct and perhaps interrelated organizations in Russia: The Russian Communist Party; the Soviet Government, and the Third or Communist International. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Third International—

Mr. NELSON. Now, that is correct, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Pardon me, but what I said, you did not state it right. I did not mean to say they are interrelated.

Mr. NELSON. Well there are those three organizations?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. There are these organizations, yes.

Mr. NELSON. Now the Russian Communist Party is the only legal party in Russia, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. The Russian Communist Party is controlled by its central executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, the Communist Party has a central committee. It is called central committee; sometimes called central executive committee, but usually it is called central committee.

Mr. NELSON. And the committee of the International is called the central executive committee, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The same—called central committee, or central executive committee. Very often, it is called central executive committee.

Mr. NELSON. Let me stick to this one. The governing committee of the Russian Communist Party is called the central committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes—central committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. NELSON. And that is elected by the soviets?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Communist Party?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No, it is elected by the communists. The congress of the communists of the Soviet Union elects the central committee of the party; it is purely a party organization.

Mr. NELSON. I did not intend to ask you that question. The central committee of the Communist Party acts through subcommittees, does it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And one of them is the politbureau?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And the other is what?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is called orgbureau, which means organizational bureau.

Mr. NELSON. And also called control bureau?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, the control bureau—or rather the central control committee—is not a part of the central committee; it is a separate body. It is a body which looks after—well is interested in seeing that the members behave in conformity with the principles of the party.

Mr. NELSON. The politbureau and the control bureau are smaller committees made up of members of the central committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. NELSON. The control bureau members may or may not be members of the central committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Right.

Mr. NELSON. I understood you to say these members of the central committee of the Russian Communist Party were selected perhaps every two years at the congress of the party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. Now the politbureau has quite a little to do with the Soviet Government, does it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; it is a purely party organization.

Mr. NELSON. Does not the politbureau dominate the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. As I said, the party controls the policy, in an indirect way, which means this—

Mr. NELSON. And does it through the politbureau?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, you see the central committee is higher than the politbureau.

Mr. NELSON. I understand, but they act through the politbureau?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The way they act is this: The policies are being discussed by the congress, the party congress. Sometimes weak political parties have a congress and discuss problems and carry out resolutions.

Mr. NELSON. Then it is the duty of the central committee to see that the policy is carried out?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean the central committee of the party?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. Now, you are making the same mistake you said we made.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. What I mean is that the central committee is the committee that carries out the policy.

Mr. NELSON. I understand. After the congress has met and determined the policy, then it is the duty of the central committee of the Communist Party to see that that policy is carried out?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And, through the politbureau, it informs the Soviet Government what that policy is and what they would like to have it do?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. NELSON. What do they do?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. When resolutions are carried, every member of the Communist Party knows it, and when the congress of the soviets is in session, which is once in two years, and questions of policy are being discussed the communists are naturally taking up the same position as the party took.

Mr. NELSON. So that after the congress of the party has met and stated what they want to do, why all the members of the Soviet Government know what it is and carry it out?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If the central executive committee of the soviets carries those and passes the same resolutions as the communists, then they carry it out. Usually they do, because the majority of the central executive committee are communists.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do I get you clearly there, Mr. Nelson, that the central committee dictates the policy that is followed by the Soviet Government?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean the central committee of the party?

Mr. BACHMANN. Of the Communist Party—dictates the policy for the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is the thing I am not clear about.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; what I say is this—

Mr. NELSON. Of course, he does not say they do.

Mr. BACHMANN. You did not get a direct answer there.

Mr. NELSON. I did not expect to. He is not going to admit the politbureau runs the Soviet Government. I could spend the whole afternoon questioning him about it, and he would say no.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I would say no.

Mr. NELSON. Now, the Soviet Government was organized by the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Soviet Government was organized by the central executive committee; of course, from the beginning—after the revolution, you mean?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. After the revolution the old government was overthrown and the soviets elected a new government, which was composed of communists.

Mr. NELSON. We know that.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No it is not a party organization that elects the government. That is mixed up.

Mr. NELSON. My question was if the Russian Communist Party did not conceive and form the Soviet Government. The did, did they not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. As far as conceiving the idea of the Soviet Government.

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. But the actual electing of the Soviet Government has been by the congress of soviets. From the very beginning of the revolution until now, we have a congress of soviets, which has party members and nonparty members.

Mr. NELSON. I understand that; but I say the government was created originally by the Russian Communist Party and now it is being run by its own members?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. At the present time, the State is being run by the Government. There is one important question—the Russian central executive committee is not only a legislative institution. You see, here you have a division of powers; under the Soviet Union, it is different; the central executive committee is an administrative, as well as a legislative body, both, and, for administrative purposes,

it elects the so-called government—I mean the council of peoples commissars.

Mr. NELSON. But now you have anticipated me a little. The Russian Communists Party through its central committee, conceived the Soviet Government, did it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean the idea of the Soviet Government?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, yes; that is true.

Mr. NELSON. Now the Soviet Government also acts through the executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Soviet Government has departments as you have in the United States.

Mr. NELSON. Yes; but what do you call the group—the congress, or commissars, or how do you term them?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The council of peoples commissars. We have various commissars of departments: we have a foreign affairs department; we have a war department; a department of finance, of trade, and so on, which is administrative.

Mr. NELSON. What do you call them—council of commissars?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; council of peoples commissars: or, in short, it is called *sovnarkum*.

Mr. NELSON. Do you have no central executive committee of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. NELSON. So, when you speak of the central executive committee, or of the executive committee, exercising authority, you are not referring to nay committee of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I am referring to the central executive committee of the soviets, which is being elected by the congress of the soviets. We have soviets in Russia which are self-governing bodies; the soviets send their representatives to the congress.

Mr. NELSON. Is that the one that meets every two years?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It meets every two years and it is composed of at least 1,500 members. There are more.

Mr. NELSON. What do they elect?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They elect the central executive committee, which is composed of two branches.

Mr. NELSON. You have gone back now to the central executive committee of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. NELSON. Well is not the central executive committee of the Russian Communist Party the central executive committee that the congress of soviets elects?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; they have nothing to do with it. It is just two separate and distinct organizations.

Mr. NELSON. Then you have a central executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Which is composed of two chambers. I will call them. One is called the council of the union, which is like the House of Representatives here; the other is called the council of nationalities, which is like the Senate here, because each republic elects the same number of deputies. Both of these chambers constitute the central executive committee.

Mr. NELSON. Of the congress of soviets?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Of the congress of soviets. This central executive committee has about 400—over 500—members: about 535 members. Well you have about two-thirds, I would say, that are party members and about one-third are just nonpartisan, elected by the people. I may say that last year we had about 75 per cent of the electors in the cities participating in the elections and about 60 per cent in the villages. The central executive committee is the permanent body. You see, the sessions—the congress of soviets meets once in two years, and the central executive committee about once in three months, and the committee has a permanent so-called presidium which is composed of 9 members of the council of the union, 9 members of the council of nationalities, and 9 members which are elected by both branches, making up 27 people, and each law passed by the peoples council of commissars is ratified by the presidium.

Mr. NELSON. What is that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I say each law, each decree, published by the council of peoples commissars, the most important decrees have to be ratified by the presidium of the central executive committee, and you can always see each decree signed by the president of the central executive committee, with the signature of the president of the peoples commissars.

Mr. NELSON. Then the laws that are passed by the people's commissars must be approved by—

Mr. SKVIRSKY. By the presidium.

Mr. NELSON. By this presidium of the central executive committee of the congress of soviets.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. And usually the policies in general are discussed by the central executive committee in plenary sessions.

Mr. NELSON. That is the policy of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, the policies which the country is going to follow. When they are adopted there, the Soviet Government has to carry them out.

Mr. NELSON. The Third International, or Communist International, was created by the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The initiative at first was not only Russian. Several parties were those parties who were part of the Second International and who, before the war, established the German Socialist Party. So other members decided to have their own international, being opposed to war, and the Russian Communist Party was one of them.

Mr. NELSON. But those who met and formed the party were Russians, largely, who predominated—Russian communists?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, you see, the Russian party, which had already been successful, had a successful revolution, was more influential; that is all.

Mr. NELSON. The Third International is also governed by the central executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; they have an executive committee.

Mr. NELSON. Well is not that its governing body?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, it is something like an executive body.

Mr. NELSON. Well what is highest authority in the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The congress.

Mr. NELSON. That meets every two years, or four years—how often does that meet?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know; I think about every two years, or so; I don't know.

Mr. NELSON. Your party meets every two years, I think. Well, that is the highest authority in the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I understand so.

Mr. NELSON. But not being in session all the time, its power has to be carried on by some smaller body that is on the ground?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I suppose so.

Mr. NELSON. And that is what?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. That is the committee.

Mr. NELSON. That is the central executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. Now the central executive committee acts through what, a smaller committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I suppose so. I am not an official or the Kominturn, sir: I can not tell you exactly every committee they have.

Mr. NELSON. Does not the Third International have its presidium?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean the executive committee?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I suppose so; every organization acts through a few people which it elects.

Mr. NELSON. Now, when you stated this morning there was confusion in the understanding in this country as to the use of the central executive committee, what did you mean?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I mean this: When the Soviet Government has to submit for ratification every measure it takes to its parliament, which means the central executive committee, which adopts its policy on the basis—

Mr. NELSON. The central executive committee of what?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Of the soviets. This is the only one which is usually called central executive committee. That is called in Russia ZIK, and the government is responsible to them, to this committee, and not to anybody else. So that is why, when I say the Soviet Government has nothing to do with the Third International, it is an independent body completely, that is what I mean. It is only subordinate to the central executive committee of the soviet.

Mr. NELSON. And you say it is not subordinate in any way to the polit bureau?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. NELSON. Well, have you read the writings of Stalin and Lenin and all of these official documents that come straight from Russia, that we have here?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Surely, I have read much of it; I did not read it all.

Mr. NELSON. They do not seem to indicate the same ground, or opinion, you take here.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know, who takes.

Mr. NELSON. The highest leaders and the greatest exponents of communist socialism in Russia.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I know they are the leaders; I have read them.

Mr. NELSON. They differ from you on that point.

MR. SKVIRSKY. I do not think they differ with me on this point at all.

MR. NELSON. Apparently they differ with you on that point.

MR. SKVIRSKY. No. As I said, the Communist Party of Russia has the confidence of the people. The Communist Party in Russia, when it passes certain resolutions, the policy they would like to have the country follow, are carried out through the majority in both houses. That is why the ideas of the Communist Party are made the policies in Russia.

MR. NELSON. Who elects the council of people's commissars?

MR. SKVIRSKY. The central executive committee of the soviets.

MR. NELSON. And that consists of this council of the union and council of nationalities?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Yes. There are over 500 people, about 535 or 540. The communists have their own congress.

MR. NELSON. Yes. Now the Soviet Government is responsible only to—

MR. SKVIRSKY. The central executive committee and its presidium.

MR. NELSON. The central executive committee of the congress of soviets?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

MR. NELSON. What office does Stalin hold in that central executive committee of the congress of soviets.

MR. SKVIRSKY. Stalin, I think, is a member of the central executive committee. He is secretary of the Communist Party; but, in the committee he is just a member.

MR. NELSON. Just a minute. Is he a member of the central executive committee of the congress of soviets?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

MR. NELSON. Or is he secretary and a member of the central committee of the Communist Party?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Well, he is both.

MR. NELSON. Well, do you know he is a member of the central executive committee of the congress of soviets?

MR. SKVIRSKY. I think he is.

MR. NELSON. You think he is?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

MR. NELSON. Is he a member, or just the secretary?

MR. SKVIRSKY. You mean of the—

MR. NELSON. Of the central executive committee of the congress of soviets?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Just a member.

MR. NELSON. Where was he elected and from what constituency?

MR. SKVIRSKY. In Moscow, I think, some factory. As you know, all of the elections are at the place of occupation—each factory, or each village, and so on.

MR. NELSON. Is there not a publication known as the Calendar of the Communists—an official state publication of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics?

MR. SKVIRSKY. There is a calendar of the communists, but it is not an official publication.

MR. NELSON. Well, it is official enough, is it not?

MR. SKVIRSKY. It is a party publication; not official.

MR. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, it is not the same thing.

Mr. NELSON. It is published by whom?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is published by the party.

Mr. NELSON. By the Communist Party of Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; but not by the government. Government publications are distinctly separate from any other publications in the country.

Mr. NELSON. Is it not true in Russia to-day that practically the same men hold office in the central committee of the Communist Party of Russia, in the Third International, or Communist International, and in the government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. There may be one or two in common, but the majority of them are not. If you take the list of the government officials, the majority of them are not.

Mr. NELSON. What office does Stalin hold—

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is a secretary.

Mr. NELSON (continuing). In the Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No office at all.

Mr. NELSON. He holds no office in the government at all?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No office at all.

Mr. NELSON. Then he is not a member of the central executive committee of the congress of the soviets?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, yes. By "Government" I mean the Council of the Peoples Commissars. If you mean the government this way, then he is; but the government is usually called Council of Peoples Commissars," which is the cabinet.

Mr. NELSON. Well, the central executive committee of the soviets are simply members of the Russian Communist Party, are they not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Not all.

Mr. NELSON. Well practically all of them?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean in the central executive committee of the soviets?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Oh, no. There are about 200 of them, I suppose, out of 550; about one-third are nonparty people.

Mr. NELSON. Yes; one-third are nonparty, and two-thirds party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. That is about the proportion.

Mr. NELSON. Two-thirds of the 535 members are members of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Two-thirds; yes. The proportion is usually the same proportion as in the congress of soviets.

Mr. NELSON. Then the only difference between the central committee of the Communist Party and the central committee of the soviets is that the central committee of the soviets has perhaps a third nonparty members?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, it is a state organization; it is like you have the Congress here—

Mr. NELSON. But as far as the constituency goes?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They are not all the same people.

Mr. NELSON. Oh, no; not all the same people, but all of the membership of the central executive committee of the congress of soviets are members of the Russian Communist Party, except about a third?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. Well, when you speak, in Russian terminology, of a man being a member of the presidium, what do you mean—presidium of the Third International, or presidium of the executive committee of the soviets?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. We always have in mind the executive committee of the soviets.

Mr. NELSON. And not of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. It is only abroad that you can hear so much about it.

Mr. NELSON. But the Third International does have its presidium and its governing body of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I suppose so. Everybody has a presidium; I mean president and members. I suppose so.

Mr. NELSON. Are you telling me what you suppose—

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think so.

Mr. NELSON. About the constitution of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think so. I am not an expert; but, as far as I know, I am giving my answers. I think so.

Mr. NELSON. Well, if a man of your ability and attainments and experience in communism and the government of Russia can not tell us the facts, you can not blame us very seriously if we get confused on some of those things, can you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, I was trying to give you all the facts. I am willing to give you all of the facts.

Mr. NELSON. I was not criticising; I am simply showing the difficulty under which we labor.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; but I think as far as this question is concerned, every body of people has to have a presidium of some kind to carry on its work. It is only natural that they have.

Mr. NELSON. I think, in this calendar of the communists, Stalin is given as a member of the central executive committee. You used the expression "ZIK"; what does that mean?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. This is the central executive committee of the soviets.

Mr. NELSON. What does ZIK mean?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It means central executive committee; it is a Russian word.

Mr. NELSON. It means central executive committee of the soviets?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And not of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. NELSON. And not of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. NELSON. Now, the communist international gives him as a member of the presidium. He is, is he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I beg your pardon; you asked about Stalin?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Whether he is a member of the presidium of the Communist Party?

Mr. NELSON. No; that is not what I asked you.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I did not hear you.

Mr. NELSON. I say is he a member of the presidium of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think he is in the Russian group which is in the international, so he ought to be there.

Mr. NELSON. That is the premise to entitle him to sit in the presidium?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Possibly so. Every party has a group of those representatives in the central executive committee.

Mr. NELSON. You see, we are wasting so much time. I just wanted to know from you if Stalin was a member of the presidium of the Third International. Is he?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; I think so.

Mr. NELSON. He is also a member of the Third International executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; of the committee.

Mr. NELSON. If he was not a member of the executive committee, he could not be a member of the presidium, could he?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. That is right.

Mr. NELSON. He is also down here as being general secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party. Is that correct?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. NELSON. Now the same, generally speaking, is true as regards practically every member of the politbureau, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; not all of them are.

Mr. NELSON. Name one that is not.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. (Examines papers.)

Mr. NELSON. Could you name one off-hand?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; I will just have to look. (After examining papers): Here is a man I could name—Voroshilov.

Mr. NELSON. He is commissar for the army and the navy?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And a member of the central committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; he is a member of the politbureau. Here is another—Kaganovich.

Mr. NELSON. He is secretary of the central committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is one of the secretaries; yes.

Mr. NELSON. And a member of the Central Council of Trade Unions?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Trade Unions?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. He is a member of the politbureau.

Mr. NELSON. Yes; but he is also in the Third International, and he holds the office of a member of the Central Council of Trade Unions?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. That is not the Third International. It may be the so-called trade-union international? •

Mr. NELSON. No; this is the communist international.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have here the list.

Mr. NELSON. This is taken from your calendar of communists.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Of what year?

Mr. NELSON. 1930.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Maybe; but, as far as I know, I think this is the latest date which I have.

Mr. NELSON. Have you anything later than 1930?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. This is what I have; I have this for July 14, 1930, and the sixteenth congress of the party was July 14, 1930, and this must have been published before. There are several others who are not included there. I think there are only about three of them.

Mr. NELSON. Did not the Soviet Government have so little part in the decisions of its concerns and were not so many of them referred directly to the politbureau that Lenin and Stalin had to protest against it and insist that those matters should be taken off the shoulders of the politbureau and be decided by the Soviet Government, and leave the politbureau free to carry on its more important affairs?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. NELSON. What?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I never heard of it.

Mr. NELSON. You never heard of it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. I know from the beginning of the revolution, the Soviet Government was a Soviet Government.

Mr. NELSON. Well, do not you imagine there may be some things going on over there that you have not heard about?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not think so, because I have to follow closely everything you know, being closely connected with the government.

Mr. NELSON. Well, we have such a record somewhere here, taken from Stalin's or Lenin's own words. I do not have it before me, but it is in the record. I think that is all I want to ask.

Mr. ESLICK. In order to become a communist, the individual has to pledge himself to carry out the policies of the Communist Party, does he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. ESLICK. One of the purposes of the Communist Party is to destroy all capitalist governments, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Every communist wants to establish, is trying to assist in his own country to establish communism.

Mr. ESLICK. In other words, the American communist must stand for the destruction of the Government? America is classed as a Capitalist Government, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. All governments are classed as such who have the system of capitalism. The only country which is not capitalistic is the Soviet Union; so America is included in the countries with capitalistic governments.

Mr. ESLICK. The American communists, then, would stand for the overthrow of this Government and the substitution of the soviet form of government, would he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Every communist wants to have established the communist government. Whatever you have to do for that, whether you will be able to do it by way of overthrowing, or not, depends on the conditions in each country. In Russia, you know, there was no other way. In Russia, there was an overthrow and, if the same conditions are in other countries, I suppose they will have to do it.

Mr. ESLICK. Now, in the overthrow of the government, do they stand for its overthrow by force, if it becomes necessary?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, you see, the communist is a student of history—every communist wants to improve the lot of the working people and history shows that no ruling class has ever parted with its

power without a struggle, so the communists realize, that undoubtedly, since they want to have abolished exploitation by the ruling class, and since the ruling class is going to oppose, they would have to have a revolution.

Mr. ESLICK. Now, the expectation and the hope of the communist organization is world revolution, is it not—complete overthrow of capitalist governments?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The communists believe, that with communism successful in other countries, in most of the countries, they have to see that communism is safe; that the communist country is not going to be attacked by the capitalist countries.

Mr. ESLICK. Now, you are a Russian citizen?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. ESLICK. You are a communist?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, I am; I consider myself a communist.

Mr. ESLICK. You have spent practically nine years here?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; except the time which I spent in Russia.

Mr. ESLICK. In your own personal view, as the representative of the Soviet Government, and as a communist, do you believe in the overthrow of the American Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. As I said, I am a soviet citizen; I am a communist and we have already our Soviet Republic. We have established it in Russia and we are working only for the strengthening of the workers of our Soviet Republic, for this republic, that it may be so strong that it will become, some day, the largest revolutionary factor, on account of conditions it will create for its working class. While nothing can be done about it, it means the growth of influence of the workers' state. America was, after the American Revolution, the greatest revolutionary factor in Europe generally. As you know, the American Declaration of Independence has had a great deal to do with revolutions in Europe. You know the First International, the working class international, was in America from 1772 to 1876. The First International was here and Karl Marx, who was the head of the First International, as maybe you remember, sent greetings to President Lincoln, who replied very warmly. It was during the Civil War. And as America was a revolutionary factor in European revolutions, so Russia now becomes a revolutionary factor; America proclaims the ideas of political democracy; Russia, the Soviet Union, proclaims the ideas of industrial democracy. I am here only as the unofficial representative of the Soviet Government, working to establish better relations and a better understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr. ESLICK. Now, let us get back to the question: You are a Russian citizen; you are a communist; you have spent nine years here. I am asking you if it is your own belief, your own faith, that the Government of the United States should be overthrown and a Soviet Republic established in its place?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have nothing to do with the United States. As I said, I am working only for the Soviet Union and it is not for me to give an opinion as to what Americans have to do in America. You want to know my opinion—I supposed you wanted only facts and, as I say, the only fact I can state is that I am here working for the Soviet Government.

Mr. ESICK. Your allegiance and service, then, is to the Soviet Republic?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. ESICK. And you are hands-off as to the American situation?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Absolutely. And if I had acted different, I would have had more trouble, I suppose, in the Soviet Union than here.

Mr. ESICK. Are you not willing to promote communism here, where you can do it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. I am here just to represent my country, my government, and working only to improve the relations between America and the Soviet Government.

Mr. ESICK. I thought communism stood for the improvement of the working class the world over?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Russian Communist Party is not to look after the whole world. You have communist parties in every country: it is up to them to do whatever they like.

Mr. ESICK. Are you not reaching out, through the Third International, to try to reach all other countries?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. We do not. I made the statement that we had relations with Italy, with Mussolini, for several years. You know the interests of the facists and communists are not the same; communists are not fascists, and facists are not communists; nevertheless, we have developed trade relations and diplomatic relations with Italy, and have no trouble.

Mr. ESICK. But when you get too active over there, he shakes the big stick at you, does he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. But there was no case (I wish to make this statement here again), where any government in Europe, which had relations with the Soviet Government could prove on us something as a fact. There was much antisoviet propaganda, it is true, and anything the Third International does, immediately you hear the Soviet Government is to blame. The Soviet Government disclaims any responsibility for the actions of the Third International.

Mr. ESICK. In other words, the strikes and outlawry in the United States are disclaimed by the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Absolutely. It is not a matter for the Soviet Government.

Mr. ESICK. It is a party matter for the communists; not a matter of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know about strikes; I don't know whether you have strikes or communists; I don't know about it.

Mr. ESICK. But such a strike as the Gastonia strike, the New Bedford strike—

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Soviet Government had absolutely nothing to do with that. It is the same thing as to say that we have to do with the American Communist Party.

Mr. ESICK. In other words, if they are called communist strikes, that is a party matter and not a governmental affair; is that true?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Of the American Communist Party, I presume.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. M. Lulinski?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What have been your connections with him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I am glad you asked me about him. I have known him for several years. He is a man who does not belong to any polit-

ical party; he does not know anything about politics. When he went on business to Mexico, he was sent to take over the goods which the Trade Legation left there. It was claimed, however, by the Press he had all kinds of documents. If there are any documents they must be like the Whalen documents. I want to say there is no scintilla of truth in the accusations against this man, who is purely a nonpolitical person, who never knew anything about politics.

The CHAIRMAN. What have been your associations with him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have known him. He was working a long time, I think, for the Selskosoys, which means agricultural cooperatives. For a long time I used to meet him in New York, to talk to him and all. He feels terrible now on account of these accusations.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he born in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think so. He has been here a good many years.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he connected with Amtorg?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. At the present time, I think he is; I think so; maybe with the cooperatives. I know he has been sent to Mexico on purely business affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. He was the one who was arrested in Mexico?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And was sent out of Mexico by the Mexican Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; so I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not the United States that made those charges; it is the Mexican Government that made the charges against him.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They are similar to a lot of other charges. You know, there was a charge that I was chief of the G. P. U., according to the Whalen documents. There are many charges here.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know a lawyer by the name of Mr. Cotton?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Cotton?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I knew one Cotton, who used to be secretary of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce long ago, several years ago; then I think he is connected with the Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, in New York, if this is the one.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I did not know he was a lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your connection with him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I just met him from time to time in New York, maybe five or ten times in my life; no special connection.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he hold now?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think he is a member of the——

The CHAIRMAN. Secretary of the society?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Not secretary; I think one of the directors of what is called the American Russian Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his first name?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I could not tell you his full name.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know in what business he is engaged?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard of Mr. Zinoviev?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean the Russian Communist?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Not personally, no; I never met him.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he head of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. At one time; yes, long ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear of him making the statement that the Third International is part and parcel of the Communist Party; that the Third International and the Soviet Government are part and parcel of the same house?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, I do not remember such a statement, but very often you can hear such statements. You have to go into them, what they mean. They may not mean anything at all. It is not the same as the Soviet Government; they want to say, possibly here, that they would like to have a Soviet Government, the same as in Russia and the ideas of those here maybe of other parties, possibly are that they would like to have the same thing; that is perhaps all, but they should never refer to the Soviet Government, as such.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is not the Third International a creature of Lenin?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, Lenin is a communist, and one of the leaders who was very bitter—was opposed to the Second International.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not he organize the Third International in Moscow?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He was one of the organizers; yes. He was the most important man; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he organized the Third International in Moscow, did he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It was in Moscow; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And Trotsky was another of the organizers, was he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Were not Lenin and Trotsky the two main organizers of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, there were representatives of other nations, because Russians were not the only ones who were not satisfied with the Second International. I wish to say this here: You have in London the head of the Government, Mr. MacDonald, who is a member of the Second International; is he responsible for the activities of the Second International?

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I was talking about MacDonald being a member of the Second International.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not Mr. MacDonald give out a statement to the effect that he saw no difference between the Third International and Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't remember his making any statement; I think there was something in the press of a statement made by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs; but I saw, at the same time, that the Soviet Government again disclaimed any responsibility for the Third International.

(The committee thereupon took a recess until 3.30 o'clock p. m., at the conclusion of which the hearing was resumed as follows:)

Mr. SKVIRSKY. May I make a statement, say a few words about Lulinski?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I understand that the arrest of Mr. Lulinski was made at the request of Commissioner Whalen. Lulinski was an American citizen and was freed on request of the American ambassador in Mexico.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you make that statement, that it was made at the request of Mr. Whalen?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I understand that from the press.

The CHAIRMAN. From the press?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. I know afterwards the American ambassador in Mexico interfered in his behalf and he was released.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you may have seen it in the press, but I never heard that statement before that Mr. Whalen ever knew Mr. Lulinski, or ever heard of Mr. Lulinski.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. That is what I saw in the press and the fact was, as I say, the American ambassador asked for his release by Mexico, and he was released.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to know he did ask for his release?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the history of the American ambassador having asked for his release?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. That is what I know.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, I have heard about it from Mr. Lulinski, who told me; then I heard about it in New York. Here is, I think, Mr. Marshall who knows it.

Mr. MARSHALL. I think that is a fact. I would not say it was Commissioner Whalen, but it was on a telegram from the New York Police Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, it is news to me that the State Department officially asked for his release.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know about the State Department; I only say the American ambassador. Maybe he did it himself; not the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps he might have asked that he be communicated with.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is an American citizen, Mr. Lulinski, and naturally he communicated with the Mexican Government to find out, and he was released.

The CHAIRMAN. We were discussing the Third International and you still claim, in spite of Mr. Nelson's cross-examination, that the Soviet Government is not responsible for the actions of the Third International. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do admit that Lenin and Trotsky, and others, helped to create the Third International in Moscow, back in 1919, is that correct?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that the leaders of the Communist Party are very largely members of the executive committee of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Of the Russian Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Only a few of them; several of them. There are about 60, if my memory serves me right; there are about 60 members and on the committee only a few are Russians, about 8 of 10, maybe; no more. The rest are all representatives of the various nationalities—over 60, I suppose.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not be surprised if there were 16 Russian members of the Third International, and the executive committee of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not think so; I think there is less. How many are there altogether on your list?

The CHAIRMAN. I have only the Russian members of the Third International.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I understood there were about 10.

The CHAIRMAN. On the executive committee. How many are there in the presidium of the Third International altogether?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I could not tell you; maybe two or three of them.

The CHAIRMAN. No; in the presidium of the executive committee; how many altogether—the presidium of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not remember the number of the members—how many there are.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any way of your finding out and letting us know how many altogether are in the presidium of the Third International? Could you find out and let us know?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have here the members of the executive committee, about 57; and, out of them 9 are Russians. But I have not the presidium.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see your list. You say there are nine Russians?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. On what—on the executive committee of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; I have not the presidium.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, have you Moltov on your list?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you Rykov on your list?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you Bukharin on your list?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not got him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you Gusev on your list?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Khitarov?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Lozovsky?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Manuilsky?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Piatnitsky?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Skrypnik?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Soltz?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. A. A. Soltz?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Stuchka?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Tskhakaya?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And Yaroslavsky?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have not Yaroslavsky.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't the number on the presidium?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you find out the number on the presidium?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I would have to look up the papers somewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the papers there?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Not here. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea how big the presidium is of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't remember. I could just guess, but I don't remember the exact numbers.

The CHAIRMAN. In spite of the fact that Mr. Zinoviev, who is the head of the Third International, says it is not only the creature of Lenin, but it was part and parcel of the Communist Party and Third International, you say it is wrong?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Personally I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lozovsky is on the executive committee of the Third International—that is correct, is it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; he was according to my list.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know him?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the Pan Pacific Monthly?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Pan Pacific Monthly?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I have heard of such a magazine in the West.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what that is?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; it is just a commercial magazine, I think, if this is the one I have in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated to the committee it was your desire to see friendly relations established between your Government and the American Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And if I should read you a communication here, purporting to come from Mr. A. Lozovsky, whom you say is on the executive committee of the Communist International and who is also, we find out from you—do you know what other positions he held in the Soviet Union?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not think he occupies any other position in the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he hold a position on the central executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; I do not see him on the list. He does not occupy any other position. He was mostly, I think, working with the trade unions.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he is in the Red International.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He may be in the Trade Union International.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the Red International of Labor Unions.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. But he has nothing to do with the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. And is he also connected with the All Union Central Soviet of Labor Unions?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Possibly, or the Trade Union Federation.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Possibly so.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Union Central Executive Committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He may be there a member.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the Labor Central Executive Committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. This is a committee of the soviets; it is our congress.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your congress?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you consider this a friendly act if this communication is correct, which I read to you, dated May 4, 1930, addressed to Browder, U. S. A.:

DEAR FRIEND: It is many months now since I received anything from you with regard to the Pan Pacific Monthly. Who is on this work in San Francisco now that Harrison George is on the Daily Worker? We started to publish this organ in San Francisco in order to have another center for the Pan Pacific secretariat. I have received information from Shanghai that all attempts to get in touch with you have failed. What is the matter? If you are so engaged on other work that you are absolutely unable to deal with the Pan Pacific Monthly you should let me know. If the party has instructed Harrison George to carry on other work there should be another comrade put in his place; otherwise we will harm the Pan Pacific secretariat.

Besides the question about the position of the Pan Pacific Monthly, I have another question to deal with. The position in Mexico and Central America at the present is such that reinforced assistance for our comrades in these countries is required. Formerly we were able to extend a certain amount of help from Mexico. Now that the Mexican party and the Unitary Union of Mexico have been driven underground it is necessary to organize a bureau for Central America in New York. It is hardly possible that you would be able to take this up personally. But would it not be possible for Harrison George to deal with it, together with his other work? He knows Spanish, knows those countries, and his participation would be extremely desirable. I want a telegraphed reply to this question, as we have taken a decision to set up a bureau for Central America in New York, and we must arrange with you who should direct this work.

With comradely greetings,

A. LOZOVSKY.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Such cables could be sent from America to Russia, as well, and the Soviet Government is not any more responsible for it than the American Government would be responsible for cables from America to Russia that they could not control.

The CHAIRMAN. They could be sent from where?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. From America to Russia; a similar cable could be sent from American Communists to Russia and the American Government is as much responsible for it as the Soviet Government for the actions of the communists. If he were a member of the Gov-

ernment, if he were over here for the Commissar of Foreign Affairs, for instance, they you could say—

The CHAIRMAN. But you think it is all right for an official of the Third International to send a telegram like that to an American communist?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is not up to me to suggest whether it is right, or not. I was discussing all the time here this question, and said, that the Soviet Government has nothing to do with those things. I say it has nothing to do with those things. If anybody sent a cable from Russia, or from America, has nothing to do with it. There are cables, maybe, back and forth; people communicate on all kinds of matters, congratulate each other on their birthday, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. This is not anything about a birthday; it is about setting up a bureau of Central America in New York, by the Communist Party in this country, and purports to come from Lozovsky, who is on the executive committee of the Third International, along with Stalin and Rykov and Molotov and those names you read in the record. He is on the same board, on the executive committee of the Third International, with these leading communists, who are admitted to be by everyone the leaders in Soviet Russia to-day.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. May I ask you a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Is the American Communist Party legal or illegal here? As far as I understand, they are legal.

The CHAIRMAN. It still exists.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. And they have their candidates for President?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. And for governors?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, I don't know why this question is directed to me. You have people who are American citizens; their work is legal.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it is legal for a communist member of the Third International to send a telegram of that kind to the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. What I want to say is this: If this cable, as you read to me, has been sent from Moscow, I say the Soviet Government is not responsible for it, because it can no more control the individual communists than the American Government can control its own communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, I disagree with you emphatically. What I started to say was, this is true and comes from Moscow, from a member of the executive committee of the Third International, where all of these leading members, active members, are on the presidium, and do you consider this a friendly act?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I personally can not approach it from such point of view, friendly or unfriendly. The question was of a cable from a communist in Moscow, and then you ask me if it is a friendly act on the part of the Soviet Government. I say the Soviet Government has nothing to do with it. Otherwise, you want opinions on something; I am only speaking of the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no; it is facts.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I can only speak for the Soviet Government. They are not responsible for that and therefore we can not speak of it as a friendly or unfriendly act.

The CHAIRMAN. The Third International, as you have admitted, is a creature of the Communist Party and there is only one party in Russia today; is not that the fact?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. The Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Communist Party controls the Soviet Government; is not that a fact?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. As I said, in an indirect way.

The CHAIRMAN. The Communist Party controls; is not that the fact?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In an indirect way.

The CHAIRMAN. Why indirectly? It controls. Are there anybody but communists holding high official positions in the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. There used to be, and maybe so yet; but most of the important positions, of course, are occupied by communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any of the important positions you know of that are not occupied by Communists?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Most of the important positions are occupied by Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any important positions that are not—any of the commissars?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, I knew there were such people in the State bank; there were experts in the various departments.

The CHAIRMAN. But none of the commissars?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. None of the commissars.

The CHAIRMAN. There were noncommunists in the Third International many years ago, but not now?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think, if my memory serves me right—I think there are members of the Third International who are nonparty members—just sympathizers.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you name anybody on the executive committee of the Third International who was not a communist?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I can not name them to you. I told you I am not an expert on the Third International: I don't know of any.

The CHAIRMAN. The only reason I am stressing these questions with you is—you are appearing before us as a communist, a Russian communist, and a representative, of course, of the Soviet Government, and you are supposed to have more information on this question than anybody else who has appeared before the committee. That is why, when you make the statement to the committee that the Soviet Government is not responsible for the Third International and intimate it has no connection with the Third International—is that correct?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. That is absolutely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Has no connection with the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Soviet Government?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Soviet Government has no connection. I am supposed to know about it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is why I ask this question of you, but perhaps have taken unnecessary time on it.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I am willing to answer any question that will be helpful to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not able to supply the number in the presidium of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. But you admit all these leaders you have named are on the executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Including Lozovsky?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And nobody but communists are on the executive committee of the third international?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You also state that the communists control the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Indirectly, the Russian Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And also control the Third International. They control both, don't they?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You see——

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute: I am asking you is it not a fact that the Communist Party controls the Third International and controls the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. What Party?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the Communist Party of Russia. They all have the same principles. Take all communist parties, then.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well. I can not talk about all communist parties; I can talk only about the Communist Party of Russia. As I say, the Communist Party of Russia is the party which has the confidence of the people and controls, indirectly, the policies and we had the revolution, as I stated already and, by working now for the Soviet State, we are just strengthening the Soviet ideas. As you know, Russia is occupied with the 5-year plan and there is enough to do for the Government to be occupied absolutely completely with the 5-year plan. If it works successfully, you know it is all right; if it is not successful——

Mr. BACHMANN. Too bad?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not taking that question up. I just want to emphasize the fact you admit that the Communist Party controls the Soviet Government; that is correct?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, it is not correct?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Indirectly?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If you say the Russian Communist Party controls indirectly, yes, because the Russian Government is responsible to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets.

The CHAIRMAN. It is responsible to the Central Executive Committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, which is a State organization; not a party organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That is their Congress, you mean?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. There are two-third party members, and one-third nonparty members, the same as you may have in your Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there anybody but communists in the political bureau?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The political bureau is an organization of the parties. All party members are party members on there.

The CHAIRMAN. I know.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is not a state organization.

The CHAIRMAN. But there is nobody but communists on it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Only communists.

The CHAIRMAN. And there is nobody on the executive committee but communists?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Only communists.

The CHAIRMAN. And nobody but communists on the Third International executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Communists; there are Russian communists and other communists.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want to bring out that the communists, as you say, indirectly control your Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Soviet Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And all the communists control the Third Internationale; that is correct, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is an international organization, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not know anybody in the high official positions of the Soviet Government who is not a communist, do you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. But the Soviet Government is not responsible for the activities in any way of the Third International, and from this point of view Russia has been recognized by most of the countries, and that has been accepted by them.

The CHAIRMAN. Except for the fact that Stalin, Molotov and Rykov—does Rykov hold any official position with the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is still on the executive committee of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; but it does not mean anything.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not mean anything?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Why does it not mean anything?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Because, being in the Soviet Government, which is the national government, he acts with the government, and if he is in the Third International as a communist and one of the 65 of various nationalities he may discuss problems of interest to communism in general.

The CHAIRMAN. Does Molotov hold any position in the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But Rykov holds a position. What is his position?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Rykov?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Chairman of of what?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Council of the peoples commissars.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is on this executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; he was.

The CHAIRMAN. That, you say, the Soviet Government has no connection with?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; that the Soviet Government has no connection with.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet he is one of the highest officials in the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is just one more person in the Communist International, and, as I say, can discuss with them problems of the communists in general.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not he one of the highest members in your Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In Russia it is not a question of highest or not highest, he is just a member of the Government, and as a member does not represent the government in the Third International.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he hold in the Government, again?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I told you—chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. He holds the highest position in the Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is chairman. If you want to call that the highest, possibly.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the highest?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In Russia, still higher than he is, is the presidium of the central executive committee, which has the power of both the executive and legislative, and as you know Mr. Kalinin is president of that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is still higher than chairman of the Soviet Government—the presidium?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is just like the President, of course; he receives ambassadors and any documents go to him.

The CHAIRMAN. The presidium of the union Central Executive Committee—that is the one Kalinin is the head of?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And is it not a fact Mr. Molotov is a member of that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Of the Central Executive Committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I think he is. If you have the list of the Council of the Peoples Commissars of the Government, there is nobody except Rykov—

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you about Molotov.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Whether he is in the Central Executive Committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not see him in the Central Executive Committee presidium, but I think—oh, yes, Molotov is here; he is a member of the presidium.

The CHAIRMAN. You just told me, when I asked you a little while ago, when I said Molotov was on the executive committee of the

Communist International, that he did not hold any office in the Soviet Government.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; as I say, we understand by "Government" the Council of the Peoples Commissars.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the Council of Peoples Commissars of half a dozen people?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I ask you in the Government, and you tell me the presidium is higher than any organization.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You asked me about Molotov.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I asked you if he held any position in the Government, and you said no; and then I asked you if the presidium is higher than these commissars.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. When you speak about the Government we always understand by it the Council of the Peoples Commissars.

The CHAIRMAN. How many commissars are there?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, there are 11—10, and the chairman, making 11.

The CHAIRMAN. That constitutes the Government, 11?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. That constitutes the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. And of those 11 people Rykov is one?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is on the executive committee of the Communist International; but you say that the presidium you refer to here, of the central committee, is higher than the commissars, above the commissars?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; the decrees of the Government—

The CHAIRMAN. They are part of the Soviet Government, are they not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The decree of the Government, or council of the Peoples Commissars, usually are ratified by the Central Executive Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. But you made the statement yourself they were higher.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. In this respect they are higher, because they have to be ratified.

The CHAIRMAN. So Molotov is a member of the Soviet Government, is he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If you consider—you see, it is a legislative and executive body, so that I can not call it the government. I would call it this way, that he is on the legislative and executive body of the soviets.

The CHAIRMAN. And you still want us to believe that the Soviet Government has no responsibility for the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; absolutely.

Mr. BACHMANN. I want to clear up a little bit, Mr. Skvirsky, about Mr. Stalin's authority over there: He is secretary general of the Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And a member of the central committee of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. He is also elected as a member of the Central Executive Committee of the soviets?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And he is also a member of the central committee of the Communist International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. So I understand; yes. He is not a member of the Government.

Mr. BACHMANN. I did not say he is a member of the Government; I asked you if those three things I have said are true?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. He is only connected with the Government by being a member of the Central Executive Committee, which is the committee that runs the Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; that is right.

Mr. BACHMANN. What are his duties as a member of the executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Of the soviets?

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The same as the duties of a Congressman or Senator here.

Mr. BACHMANN. The same as any other member of that committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Does he have any more authority than any other member of the executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; everything is decided by majority vote.

Mr. BACHMANN. Does he have any more power than any other member of that committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. Why is he referred to, generally, as the dictator of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, we have no dictators in Russia at all. There are many things that people refer to. He is a member of the central executive committee.

Mr. BACHMANN. He releases all information pertaining to the Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, you may say that he is considered the leader of the Communist Party.

Mr. BACHMANN. He is the big man in the Soviet Government, is he not? Is not he the one you would look to as the head of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is he not recognized as the head of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. He is recognized, however, as the head of the Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is recognized as the authoritative spokesman of the party.

Mr. BACHMANN. And as that spokesman he lays down the policy of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Nobody lays down the policy of the government. Whenever, as I said, there is a congress of the party the whole

policy of the country, that is, as they would like to have it, as the communists would like to have it, is being discussed.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is not this the situation, that your Russian Communist Party is controlled by your central committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You see, the congress is above the central committee.

Mr. BACHMANN. I understand that, but the congress only meets every two years.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Then, your central committee carries on the policies?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. They are recognized as the permanent head of the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Now, the same members who are members of the central committee of the Russian Communist Party, or two-thirds of them, are also members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No, no.

Mr. BACHMANN. I understood you to say that a while ago, and I want to know whether that is what you meant.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. The two-thirds which I refer to is the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets; not of the party.

Mr. BACHMANN. But I say two-thirds of the members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets are also——

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Communists.

Mr. BACHMANN. Members of the party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And Stalin, then, I conclude from what you say, is only spokesman for the Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. Maybe you saw lately in the interview published in the press where he joked himself about being called "dictator." The only dictator in Russia is the working class of Russia.

Mr. BACHMANN. Does Stalin occupy the same position Lenin had when he was alive?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, about the same position; yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Was not Lenin recognized as head of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Because, you see, Lenin held the position occupied by Rykov as head of the government. Lenin occupied both. Mr. Stalin does not occupy that as head; but, as far as spokesman of the party, he occupies the same position as Lenin.

Mr. BACHMANN. Now, I understood you to say you were director of the Soviet Union Information Bureau?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Of the Soviet Union Information Bureau; yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Here in Washington?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you are maintained here by the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Why do you use the name "director"; what is the purpose of the name "director" of the Soviet Union Information Bureau?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You see, I have no status in this country, on account of the absence of diplomatic relations; so I have established this bureau, just established this bureau, and I am the director of the bureau.

Mr. BACHMANN. But, as the director of that bureau, you perform, to all intents and purposes, just the same as the representative of a foreign government who is officially recognized?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, there are too many duties to be carried out by an official representative, which I do not carry out, because, since I am not recognized, all I can do is just to supply information to Government departments on business matters.

Mr. BACHMANN. Of course, with those limitations, you carry on the best you can?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They are very large limitations. As I say—

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, you take up with the State Department and the Department of Immigration and other governmental departments questions concerning your citizens, or your Government, do you not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, you see, since we have to carry on trade here and there are very often some questions to come up that are important, they have to be cleared up; otherwise, it would be impossible to carry on trade. I take up those questions.

Mr. BACHMANN. But you are the official agency in this country through which the Soviet Government speaks to the departments of this Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. An unofficial agent.

Mr. BACHMANN. But you are the official agency of the Soviet Government, but not officially recognized here?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you are entertained at those departments on matters coming before them relating to the interests of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. As I stated before, in my statement, when this question came up about the American aviators lost in the north, the Secretary of the Interior referred it to me, of course in an informal way, and asked that I convey that to the Soviet Government, which I did.

Mr. BACHMANN. And the Soviet Government follows through your recommendations in matters of that kind?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; whenever they consider it necessary, they do it. They have done it on many occasions.

Mr. BACHMANN. You also work with the Amtorg, the Russian Trading Corporation?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; I see them.

Mr. BACHMANN. You work in conjunction with them?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you assist the Amtorg whenever you consider it is necessary to have visas granted to certain Russian citizens?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; the visas are taken up by the lawyers: the firm of Simpson, Thatcher & Bartlett is looking after visa matters. They are working with Amtorg.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is a New York firm of lawyers?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. A New York firm of lawyers?

Mr. BACHMANN. And the Mr. Thacher of that firm is now Solicitor General of the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; he is the same man.

Mr. BACHMANN. It is his firm that represents the Amtorg?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And does his firm represent you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett!

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; this man represents me, Mr. Marshall here.

Mr. MARSHALL. Covington, Burling & Rublee.

Mr. BACHMANN. You have nothing to do with asking for visas or extensions of visas for citizens of the Soviet Government who are in this country on business?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; it all goes through this same firm. They take up this matter with the Department of Labor and ask the extension.

Mr. BACHMANN. Those men who come here to this country are sent by the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, they are sent mostly by the various organizations. We have various trusts and syndicates to carry on business.

Mr. BACHMANN. The Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Soviet Government, of course, owns them.

Mr. BACHMANN. In other words, the Soviet Government is back of those men who come to this country for business purposes?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; but I wish to say here, in that connection, in not a single case, although many people have come here, has any complaint been made on the part of an American official that any Soviet citizen abused these hospitalities.

Mr. BACHMANN. You mean while in this country on a visa?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Have they all gone back?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; mostly when they have finished their business they have gone back. I was inquiring myself of the State Department whether they knew personally of any complaint, and they said no.

Mr. BACHMANN. Some of them have been here for four or five years?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; some have been here for four or five years; but, usually, they come over here for six months and, if they finish the work—you see, it is difficult for Amtorg to get people, and sometimes they ask people who are familiar with the work to stay, and if those people do get extensions, they stay for a year or two, or maybe three. Otherwise, you can not carry on trade relations. You see, you have to know the conditions at both ends, especially the conditions there. They get orders from Russia: so that they have to have people here who know Russia.

Mr. NELSON. It has been suggested heretofore and I think has been suggested here to-day that Stalin holds no office in the Soviet Government. That is not correct, is it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. That is correct. He holds no office in the Soviet Government.

Mr. NELSON. You say he does not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Does not.

Mr. NELSON. Well, the Congress of Soviets is a part of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. As much as the American Congress, if you want to take it this way, or a little bit more, because it has not only the legislative but also has executive power.

Mr. NELSON. Well it is a fundamental part of the Government, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; if you take it in the large sense.

Mr. NELSON. Is there any question about it? I am asking for information.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. Is not the Congress of Soviets the very foundation of your Soviet Government: is it not the source of all power and authority?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, the source is the Congress of Soviets.

Mr. NELSON. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You are talking about the central executive committee, now.

Mr. NELSON. Let us let the other things go and talk about this, or I can never get this straightened out. The Congress of Soviets is a fundamental part of the Soviet Government, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes: the supreme part of the Government in Russia.

Mr. NELSON. And is a fundamental part of your Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Supreme Soviet authority. They decide everything.

Mr. NELSON. The Congress is a fundamental part of the Soviet Government. Now an essential part of the Congress of Soviets and a creature of the Congress of Soviets is the Central Executive Committee, or the Central Committee, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets?

Mr. NELSON. Yes; and that is a fundamental part of the Soviet Government, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And one of the instrumentalities through which it functions, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And Stalin is a member of that committee, is he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Just a member; as there are several hundred members, he is a member.

Mr. NELSON. Well, let us not get interested in the other several hundred. Stalin is a member of that committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; he is.

Mr. NELSON. Therefore, Stalin is a member of a very essential part of the Soviet Government, is he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If you take the Government, in the large sense, if you take the Government as you take it in the United States, which means the Cabinet, he is not.

Mr. NELSON. Oh, well, I did not ask you whether he is in the cabinet of the Soviet Government. But he does not a very essential office in the Soviet Government; does he not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is just a member of the central executive committee.

Mr. NELSON. And that is an essential part of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, it is an essential part of the Soviet Government; yes.

Mr. NELSON. Is it, or isn't it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is.

Mr. NELSON. Then, this central committee, or the Congress of the Soviets through its central committee, selects what you now term the Government, or the cabinet?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Right.

Mr. NELSON. And that is called the People's Commissars?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And when you say Stalin is not a member of the Government, you simply mean that he is not a member of the People's Commissars, or the equivalent of our Cabinet?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. He is not at the head of any particular department?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. NELSON. Now, this may not be important, Mr. Skvirsky, but I asked you if Lenin and others had not suggested it was the Politbureau that had the final say in these matters over the Soviet Government. Here is a quotation from the speech of Lenin, made in March, 1922:

* * * There has grown up among us an incorrect relation between the party and Soviet institutions, and in this regard there is complete unanimity of opinion. I pointed out one example of how specific small matters drag along already in the political bureau. Formally, a solution of this problem is very difficult, because the only legal party among us controls the Government, and it is impossible to forbid a member of the party to complain. Therefore everything is dragged along from the Soviet People's Commissars to the political bureau.

Then Trotsky suggests this, speaking of some matter of importance, I think executing a treaty, or something of that kind:

* * * We have the Council of the People's Commissars, but that council must be under a certain control. That control can not be exercised by the unorganized working masses. We therefore have to summon the central committee of the party and have it formulate an answer to this proposition.

Would not this at least indicate that possibly the political bureau had quite a complete control over the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; I would not say so.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I would like to get back to this question. I have listened to a great many arguments as to this particular question we are dealing with of the relation of the Soviet Government to the Communist Party, or the Communist Party to the Soviet Government, and you have stated here, and others have stated before, that Stalin was not a member of the Soviet Government. It is very obvious he is a very important member of the Soviet Government, according to your testimony. He is a member of the executive committee of the Congress; is not that correct?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; the Central Executive Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the Congress?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Of the Soviets.

The CHAIRMAN. And when the Congress is not in session—it is only in session once every two years—the executive committee is the legislative body—

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Every three or four months.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). And it functions for congress during all that time—this executive committee.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And Stalin, then, is a very important member of your Government, because he is a member of your executive committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. He is one of 550 people.

The CHAIRMAN. Not of the congress, but of the executive committee.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I am talking about the executive committee. It has 535 members, and he is one of 535 members.

The CHAIRMAN. Not on the union Central Executive Committee, there are not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes. I can give you the members.

The CHAIRMAN. On the union Central Executive Committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Of the soviets?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes: there are over 400 that are members of the council of the union, and there are over 100 in the council of nationalities, and Stalin is one of the members.

The CHAIRMAN. He is one of the members of the union Central Executive Committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Which is composed of 535 people, or 540.

The CHAIRMAN. We won't argue about the numbers, as long as we can establish that your statement is incorrect, by your own testimony.

Mr. NELSON. Now, I do not think that is quite fair, because he told me Stalin represents a constituency in Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think it is intentional but you did say that he did not hold any government position?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes: in the cabinet.

The CHAIRMAN. You just admitted he was not a cabinet official, and now you admit he does hold, right now, a position in the legislative branch of the government.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I mean, when I refer to government, as I understand, that is what you call cabinet, and he is not there—that is, they have this Central Executive Committee and have the cabinet.

The CHAIRMAN. When we speak of the Government in this country we do not mean the Cabinet at all; in fact, the Cabinet does not exist as far as we are concerned, under the Constitution. When we speak of the Government we speak of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; but in Europe and parliamentary countries that I have in mind they have a parliament and cabinet.

The CHAIRMAN. You are talking about 10 men?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, then, Stalin does hold an official position in the legislative branch of your government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. We can draw the parallel a little further, like in Europe, if the cabinet is not agreeable to the parliament they may have to resign, and if the Central Executive Committee would not like the way they carried out the policies they would just pass a resolution and they would have to change.

The CHAIRMAN. That just shows how powerful the Central Executive Committee is.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is like the parliament.

The CHAIRMAN. This executive committee could throw out the government to-morrow, throw out the commissars; they could just take the council of commissars and throw it out?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The same as parliament.

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly. Then Stalin is in the legislative branch, and he has an official position on the executive committee that makes the commissars and can, as you say, throw it out if he wants to; is not that the fact?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Together with 535; otherwise, he can not do it.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not care whether there are 5,000,000, he still holds this legislative job and is this same man you told me a little while ago was on the Central Executive Committee, and the executive committee of the Third International—you told me that he held no office in the Soviet Government; yet practically all of them are on this executive committee of the congress, and that is your legislative branch; is not that true?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Many of them are members of the Central Executive Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just what I was trying to bring out.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Two-thirds are communists.

The CHAIRMAN. You told me most of those men whose names you read did not hold any position in the government. You meant they were not commissars, but hold very important positions in the legislative branch of the government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. But, you see, the government deals only with the council of commissars.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that, but these people make that; Stalin and these people make the commissars.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And, in that respect, they are a part of the government, because they are a part of the executive committee of the government; is not that the fact?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The executive authority rests with the council of peoples commissars. They are responsible to the central executive committee. They are elected by that.

The CHAIRMAN. They are elected by that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And Stalin and those men on the Third International are members of the Central Executive Committee?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore, being in the executive committee of the congress of soviets and the congress making the commissars, they are also on the Third International executive committee and that is what has been pointed out here a long time ago, by Mr. Nelson, on the relation between the Soviet Government officials and the Third International.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I said there is no relationship.

The CHAIRMAN. That is exactly what was brought out by him. There is no difference of opinion.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I proved to you, and I will make my statement again, there is no relationship at all. The Soviet Government is not the Third International and is not responsible in any way for the Third International.

The CHAIRMAN. But these people who are on there are members of the legislative branch of the Soviet Government, who make what you call the government, the council of peoples commissars, and they are on the executive committee of the Third International, all of them.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; but you take one member, two members, or three members, and I say that Stalin is just one of 535 members of the executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. But he is the important member.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. All members are alike.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stalin has not any more powers than the other 500?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Mr. Stalin is spokesman of the party, and when the party has to make certain decisions, Mr. Stalin's opinion; of course, carries more weight than the others.

Mr. BACHMANN. In addition to that, he is secretary?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And is recognized as the head of the party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; I never occupied any position.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of it—not an official in it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any connection with it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No. The only connection I have is with the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Russian subjects are there in this country at the present time?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean soviet citizens; because you have a law under which you admitted several thousand czarist emigres—

Mr. BACHMANN. I did not catch the last answer.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I say the United States has admitted several thousand of those Russian czarist emigres, those who were fighting in Russia and were driven out, and you permitted them to enter into this country. They are not considered by us, of course, as Russian citizens. Of soviet citizens we have very few here; maybe several hundred of them; maybe more.

Mr. BACHMANN. Did you say the Government of the United States only admits, in the quota, Russian subjects who are not citizens of the Soviet Union?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You see, it is called Russian quota, but from Russia there is very little immigration; maybe a few people; maybe 50 or 100; I don't know how many—less than that from Russia that come here as immigrants. The most of them come from Europe, from the Far East, from Turkey, and those European countries, who were in the white army, the Czar's army, and they come over here as Russians.

Mr. BACHMANN. In other words, the great majority of those who come to this country in the quota are Russians who were formerly citizens under the Czar's régime?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And who fled from Russia and are now being admitted into this country under the quota?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And there are very few soviet citizens?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Very few.

Mr. BACHMANN. What is the reason for there only being a few soviet citizens?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. First of all, emigration is not encouraged in Russia because in connection with the 5-year plan, as I explained before, we have no unemployment in Russia and need every man and do not encourage emigration.

Mr. BACHMANN. In other words, as far as citizens of the Soviet Government are concerned, then, there is no desire for them to emigrate to this country?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No opportunity. But, of course, you know how the Soviet Union would feel if soviet citizens would not be permitted to go to every country, in principle. We like to have every country open to us; but, in fact, very few go from Russia except on business and stay a few months and then go back. I have been here so many years and I only know a very few who have emigrated from Russia, and most of the cases are where you have an American citizen, and his wife is in Russia, and he wants his wife to come over here.

Mr. BACHMANN. Now, about 27,000 Russian subjects came in in the last five years?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Mostly Russian whites.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you know what proportion of them are Soviet citizens?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; part of them are Soviet citizens; but, as I say, I would be surprised if you have a thousand here. The most of them are those Russian monarchists who are carrying on the antisoviet propaganda in this country. They are one of the reasons why I say so little is known about the real Russia.

Mr. BACHMANN. And about 7,000 of that 27,000 came in here for temporary business purposes. What percentage of those were soviet citizens?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. For business purposes, they are mostly those who are citizens of the Soviet Union. You say 7,000?

Mr. BACHMANN. In the last five years.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I would not think so, because I saw the list of the State Department. I do not think so. Maybe there are about a thousand or fifteen hundred.

Mr. BACHMANN. That may be of those you know about, who have been sent over by the Soviet Government, but I am talking about all. I am talking about students and all.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They admit students to come. I heard of a case lately, a few days ago, where we have a contract with Ford to build an automobile factory in Russia, and, according to the contract, Ford has to teach the Russian workers to do the work, and we had 35 people waiting for six weeks in London who could not get visas.

People like that come over. They work for six months and then go back and go home. But those people who remain as immigrants, they are very, very few: as I said, some people who want to bring their wives over here, but most of them, the biggest part, are czarist emigres.

Mr. BACHMANN. The Soviet Government does not recognize those at all?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. All you deal with are those who are recognized as Soviet citizens?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; those with soviet passports.

Mr. BACHMANN. When you get one of what do you call white Russians, do they have to get a soviet passport to come into the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Under the quota of Russia, with passports they come as citizens. You see, the position is this: Suppose to-morrow there should be established relations between the two countries, and an ambassador would come here, and then the former czarist emigre, who wants to become a citizen, would apply for passports, and suppose the proper investigation be made and finally they go before the department then to get a soviet passport for one of the soviet citizens, when he is not; he is just a citizen. But, in America, you think mostly of what they call the white Russians. They are not soviet citizens; they are just czarist emigre. Those are just the type of people who are forging these documents about Russia and involving us.

Mr. BACHMANN. They are not the type who are joining the Communist Party of America and carrying on the propaganda here, are they?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I could not say about that; I don't know whether they join it.

Mr. BACHMANN. How is that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I could not say who joins and who does not join.

Mr. BACHMANN. I say that is not the same type that is affiliating with the Communist Party of America and spreading the communist propaganda?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. A monarchist is the one who carries on the propaganda against the Soviet Government.

Mr. BACHMANN. So the fact remains those soviet citizens in the United States or those Russians who are in the United States, carrying on this communist propaganda, are soviet citizens?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Not a single one.

Mr. BACHMANN. You would not think those who fled from Russia, because of the soviet régime over there, would come over to the United States and carry on that same thing that the Russian Communist Party is carrying on in Russia, would you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They are human beings. I don't know what is going to happen to people after they work here for some time.

Mr. BACHMANN. You could not reasonably expect that could be the situation, could you?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know. It may happen to anybody; everybody may come over here and become citizens. I don't know what may happen to their ideas later.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do I understand you to say, correctly, there are no soviet citizens connected with the Communist Party in America?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No soviet citizens?

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes; you did not mean that?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I know that if soviet citizens, who are members of the party, they are members of the Russian Communist Party, and you have people, I suppose American citizens, who are members of the American Communist Party.

Mr. BACHMANN. You mean that happens to apply to members of the American Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. What anybody may call them individually, there are such people here; most of the Russians you admit are the czarist emigres.

Mr. BACHMANN. You do know a number of Russians who are affiliated with the American Communist Party, do you not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I don't know of any Russians affiliated with the American Communist Party are soviet citizens; I don't know about that. I don't know that at all; I never met anyone. But, theoretically, whether these may be such, I will say there are not soviet citizens.

Mr. BACHMANN. You would not think they would be other than soviet citizens, would you, who, if they stayed over there in Russia and had the same beliefs, would be affiliated with the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Russian people?

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Russian, if he is a communist, is a member of the Russian Communist Party. You know, when it comes to communism, always Russia is blamed; but you know communism, the ideas of communism, came from Germany to Russia. The First International was in the United States.

Mr. BACHMANN. But the practical demonstration is in Russia.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The First International was in the United States, and the head of the First International was Karl Marx, who was in direct communication with the American President and sent and received cables.

Mr. BACHMANN. Let me ask you this: You are familiar with the affairs of the Soviet Government and generally familiar with the conditions in the United States and understand this country now, or at least you ought to, considering the period of time you have been here and the position you have been in, and you are here, as you say, endeavoring to establish a more friendly relationship between the American Government and the Soviet Government, and for the Soviet Government to be officially recognized. That is your ultimate aim, is it not—you would like to see the Government of Russia officially recognized?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I would like to see the establishment of friendly relations; yes. I would like—

Mr. BACHMANN. That is your ultimate aim, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. My aim is just to assist Americans to obtain the real facts about the Soviet Government.

Mr. BACHMANN. To establish a more friendly relationship?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And the purpose of establishing a more friendly relationship is so that it will be officially recognized?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; to contribute to a better understanding.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do not you think you would reach your goal much more quickly, at least, if you would make some effort to stop the communist propaganda that is being spread in this country?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. As you raise this question, I will tell you this, that the Soviet Government is in no way responsible for that. Of course, if you persist in accusing the Soviet Government for that—

Mr. BACHMANN. I understand your statement is that the Soviet Government is in no way responsible for it, but the Communist Party of Russia is responsible for the Soviet Government, and the Soviet Government is under the domination of the Communist Party.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I did not say the Communist Party is responsible for the Soviet Government. What I said is that the Soviet Government, the responsible government, does not consider itself responsible for the Third International, and in every treaty we have with every nation there is a clause that both governments undertake, on the basis of reciprocity, not to interfere with the internal affairs of each country. And, as I explained before, there was a case where American troops, together with the troops of other foreign governments, tried to overthrow the Soviet Government. This was a direct interference. So, having this experience once, we insist that no government in the future shall interfere with the Soviet Government, and the Soviet Government never interferes in the internal affairs of another country.

Mr. BACHMANN. But you are in this situation: The Communist Party of Russia, which is a member of the Communist International, is trying and endeavoring to work along to revolutionize the world; that is a fact, is it not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And the Soviet Government is the creature, is the child, of the Communist Party of Russia and, at the same time you are trying to establish friendly relations, you are trying to revolutionize and overthrow the Government of the United States and establish your communistic ideal and, at the same time, in the same breath, you want the Government of the United States to recognize the child of the Communist Party of Russia—the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, if the United States would recognize the Soviet Government it would be no more than other States did; because the Soviet Government, as I explained, is not engaged in this thing. We all have very strict instructions, every one of us, before we leave our country, under no circumstances to interfere with the affairs of the country where we go. That is why I said before there was not a single case—

Mr. BACHMANN. I do not doubt that; I am not criticizing you or finding fault with what your instructions are. I do not doubt that is true; but the fact remains, nevertheless, that what I said to you is the fact.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is a fact, as I stated before, that the Soviet Government and its representatives have never abused, never interfered in any internal affairs of any country.

The CHAIRMAN. What you keep repeating here is that those 11 commissars do not interfere—those 11 commissars in Russia do not interfere with the inner workings of any foreign government, with the domestic concerns of any foreign government—but anybody else outside of those 11 commissars, the 1,500,000 communists, no matter what position they hold, whether they hold a position in the legislative body or anywhere else, they can do what they want?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; what I stated was this, that the Soviet Government, or the central executive committee, or the congress of soviets—those are the state organizations—never interfere in the affairs of any foreign country.

The CHAIRMAN. You just admitted here that in these state organizations, which you keep referring to, are Stalin, Rykov, Molotov, and half a dozen others, who are on the executive committee of the Third International, which is the organization that promotes world revolution—that they are part of your government there, and yet they are on the executive committee of the very thing that promotes world revolution.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. What I stated is that Stalin is a member of the 550 members of the central executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is the legislative branch of your government, and they are on this executive committee of the Third International.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Which is purely a separate affair and has nothing to do with our state institutions.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you just made the statement a minute ago that nobody on what you call the union central executive committee, which is your legislature, had anything to do with spreading revolt in other countries.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I did not speak about an individual member; what I said concerned our institutions, like the people's council of commissars and the central executive committee and the soviets. If you say a member or two members, I say you are talking about individual members.

The CHAIRMAN. I say practically all of the Russian members who are on the executive committee of the Third International, which is stirring up revolt all over the world, are officials of your Soviet Government, in your legislative branch.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Our Communist Party membership is about 2,000,000 at the present time—

The CHAIRMAN. Sixty of these people, as I say, are on the executive committee and also on the executive branch of the Soviet Government.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I say those institutions do not and are not responsible in any way for the activities of the Third International.

The CHAIRMAN. But the members themselves are.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. There are several members who may be there.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are on the committee and are also members of the Third International?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They are officials in the Soviet Government; yet the Soviet Government, you say, has no connection with the Third International. Now, one of those members you spoke about, which

we discussed a little while ago, whom you said was a member of the union central executive committee of the congress, was this very same man, A. Lozovsky, and he is the man who wrote this letter and therefore does hold an official position. He is in the legislative branch of the government and the executive committee and writes a letter, which I read a little while ago, urging the creation of a communist bureau for Central America in New York City.

MR. SKVIRSKY. Suppose an American communist is elected to the American Congress and sends a cable to Russia. Would Congress be responsible if he sends a cable to Russia?

THE CHAIRMAN. If he is on the Third International?

MR. SKVIRSKY. If an American communist is in your Congress—you have had a Socialist, and maybe you will have a communist—if he cables to Russia, are you personally responsible for such member?

THE CHAIRMAN. I imagine if he was on a committee of Congress, it might be so. Those men are all on the executive committee of Congress; they are not nonparty members.

MR. SKVIRSKY. I do not think this Congress would be responsible for a member. You know, you have communists in the various parliaments.

THE CHAIRMAN. If you only had one lone man, your reasoning might be logical, but it so happens that every one of those men is on the executive committee of your congress.

MR. SKVIRSKY. You see, the trouble is this—

MR. NELSON. Mr. Chairman, we do not get ahead in arguing that matter. He draws one conclusion and you draw another, and you two are never going to agree.

THE CHAIRMAN. Did you tell Mr. Bachmann how many engineers there are in this country at the present time?

MR. SKVIRSKY. Russian engineers?

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes.

MR. SKVIRSKY. I said several hundred; I do not know the exact number.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is that all?

MR. SKVIRSKY. That is all. If you need the exact number, I can get it for you. I suppose there are six or seven hundred, altogether.

MR. BACHMANN. I wish you would get that, if you will. I would like to compare your figures with some figures that I have right in that connection.

MR. SKVIRSKY. Yes; I will get those figures for you.

THE CHAIRMAN. This is a list of those officials we have been discussing. You may have a later list, but I wish you would take that and revise it.

MR. SKVIRSKY. I have no list at all; I have the papers. I can look it up.

THE CHAIRMAN. I thought you said you had the latest one?

MR. SKVIRSKY. No; I just have the papers, so I will have to look up the papers and see what I can find. Who is this list from?

THE CHAIRMAN. That is not stated.

MR. SKVIRSKY. That is not stated? I guess all kinds of lists are being put out.

Mr. NELSON. I do not think it has been put in as a fact, in evidence, who appoints the people's commissars. Is it the congress of soviets, the executive committee, or the presidium?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The central executive committee of the soviets.

Mr. NELSON. Does the Second International still exist?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; it does.

Mr. NELSON. With headquarters at London?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The headquarters were partly in Amsterdam, and they were then in London. MacDonald is one of the heads of the Second International.

Mr. NELSON. That is known now as some union—the labor union and socialist international?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; this is a different one; this is the so-called Amsterdam International, which is the international of certain trade-unions. But what I mean is the International of Socialist Parties.

Mr. NELSON. The Second International—the remnants of it—do they have their headquarters at Brussels or London?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They have at the present time, I think, mostly in Amsterdam. You see, they shifted; they were at Amsterdam, and partly, sometimes, in Brussels, and then in London. As you know, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Belgium, Mr. Von de Veldt—he used to be but he is not any more—he is one of the heads of the Second International. Mr. MacDonald is also one of the heads of the Second International in London.

Mr. NELSON. You say there are 2,000,000 members of the Communist Party now in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes, about, not counting the Young Communists, which are two million and a half separate. The Young Communists are two and a half million; so, altogether, it is about four and a half million.

Mr. NELSON. Two and a half million Young Communists?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; from 16 to 23; then the Communist Party, about 2,000,000.

Mr. NELSON. I think the Pravda claimed you had about three million and a half.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean in the party?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; the Pravda never could claim that. I read it. No; the Pravda could never claim that, because, you see, we never had such a number.

Mr. NELSON. That includes all the communists in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, does it?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. What is the population of Russia now?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. One hundred and fifty million.

Mr. BACHMANN. In the credits that are extended, is there any credit extended to the Soviet Government by any of the banks or firms in the United States?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Well, the credit is extended to Amtorg Trading Corporation.

Mr. BACHMANN. I understand that.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; much of it; not directly to the Soviet Government under a loan.

Mr. BACHMANN. There is no credit extended direct to the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. No; just to Amtorg Trading Organization, and to some other organizations which are in Russia, but not directly to the Russian Government.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is how the credit is obtained in this country?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Although these organizations over there, including Amtorg, belong to the Soviet Government?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. They send orders to Amtorg, of course. Of course, the Soviet Government has credits in Europe but not here—we had lately one agreement with the Italian Government and the German Government, where both Governments are guaranteeing 60 or 75 per cent of whatever the Soviet Government purchases in their countries.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is a different situation than what we have in this country?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; in this country we have not. I can say only one thing, that but on account of this credit trouble with Amtorg, of course, the trade between the United States and Russia could have been easily five times as much as it is now.

Mr. BACHMANN. I do not share your view, because I think you are smart enough over there to buy wherever you can buy the cheapest and obtain the greatest amount of credit.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. But this situation is not so.

Mr. BACHMANN. I do not share the same view you do in that respect.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I will tell you why I think so.

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. We have to-day 150,000,000 people; you have 120,000,000. You have mass production, which is exactly what we need. We would like to work; you know Russia was very backward, and then all of a sudden you hear that something is going to happen under the 5-year plan to American industry. As you know, it will take, maybe, three or four 5-year plans before Russia succeeds in getting where America is now, considering America is not going ahead. We would like to accelerate our development. You know the more a country is developed the more it buys; you know that very well from the experience with America. America was buying 50 years ago much less than it is buying now, although America has become an industrial country. If we become an industrial country, the more we buy now of machinery, the more we will have to buy in the future, you know—repairs, parts, and so on. So, from that point of view, America and Russia are exactly the countries which could get together and be of great help to each other; but, unfortunately, there is so much misrepresentation being passed around now in this country that it is difficult.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it help this country a great deal if we sold to Russia a great many more tractors?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not see why not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it would help our wheat farmers a great deal if we sold to Russia a great many more tractors?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I will answer this way: You know what Russia is after; Russia wants to get back her own market which she had. You

know that Russia has always been a grain-exporting country, and this year she exported one-third of what Russia used to export.

The CHAIRMAN. How much are you going to export next year—this coming year?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I suppose she will export about one-third.

The CHAIRMAN. How much do you expect to export next year?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I could not tell you that; I don't know the figures.

The CHAIRMAN. You know the plan.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The plan?

The CHAIRMAN. You know how much you expect to export?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I am not a business man and nobody usually talks about things like that, if you are a good business man.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it is helpful to America to sell Russia a lot of lumber machinery?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; I think so; because, if we import anything here, it is not in competition with the United States. If we bring in coal, it is of such a quality not obtainable in America. I was myself in Moscow last year—

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact you can produce wheat much cheaper than it can be produced in the United States? How much is the cost of the production of wheat in Russia? Do you know how much it costs to produce a bushel of wheat in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not know the exact figure. You see, those large soviet farms are really only beginning to work. Certainly Russia, in general, can, of course, produce cheaper, because Russia is a socialist country, has no unemployment questions; you have no advertising to pay, because you know you have no competitors in Russia; so, certainly, they can produce cheaper.

The CHAIRMAN. How much does it cost to produce a bushel of wheat in Russia?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I could not tell you. I suppose they will publish those figures and I will be glad to send them to you. I did not see any exact figures for that. I can say one thing, the Soviet Union has developed such large farms in Russia, as amount 300,000-acre farms, they are completely mechanized; the peasants work there for eight hours and get the ordinary wages as other workingmen—

Mr. ESICK. What is the largest farm they have over there?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The so-called Giant Farm, which is nearly 400,000 acres. Then we have over 100 farms which are just about 50,000 acres, 100,000 or 150,000 acres, and the number of farms now is growing since abolishing the old system, where the peasant had a small strip of land which was divided, one piece in one place and about 2 miles farther a piece in another place. The only way to help the Russian peasants who were poor in the majority was for the government to teach them to get the advantages of large-scale farming in collective farms. While under the old system the farmer was poor, by combining a thousand farmers or 5,000 together, and combining what they have, certainly they can produce cheaper and better. This was the result this year of the so-called collective farms. Every member of the collective farm had about twice as much income as the farmer working on his small individual strip of land.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the largest farm?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The Giant Farm.

The CHAIRMAN. How many acres?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Nearly 400,000 acres. I was there last year myself and I visited it, so I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a wheat farm?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It is just a wheat farm. We have a number of wheat farms.

The CHAIRMAN. How many other wheat farms does the Government have?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. At the present time over 100, and are going to develop more.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are going to develop more?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Yes; the collectives also. There are about 5,000,000 peasants already in the collectives, mostly in the grain region. We have about 43 per cent of the farmers in the grain region who are members of collectives. If you take the peasants as a whole, about 25 per cent of the peasants are already in the collectives. With the results this year, which have shown that the collective is economically sound, because it gives the peasant a better chance to live, to raise the standard of living, and it is expected by next year to have about half of the peasantry in the collective farms. This will mean, of course, increased production.

The CHAIRMAN. How many acres have you in wheat land?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not remember exactly. If you would like, I could get the figures and bring it back here; I can look it up. Off-hand, I have been speaking so much——

The CHAIRMAN. You have not read Mr. Campbell's article, then, in Collier's?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I read about the article and saw Mr. Campbell——

The CHAIRMAN. You know what figures he gives, do you not?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I do not remember the figures.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you would be very much interested if you read that article.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. You mean about the Giant Farm?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. The area is not stable; they are increasing and enlarging it. The land has never been scratched before, and so those farms are on land that has never been used before. They have a few smaller and some are to be larger.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it would not hurt the American wheat farmers if all of the European wheat markets were taken away from them?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. It would; yes, sir; but Russia would go back to where Russia was before the war. As a matter of fact, you captured, as I say, the Russian markets while Russia was engaged in civil war.

The CHAIRMAN. How would it go back to where it was before the war? Assuming she can produce cheaper, assuming she can produce wheat for 20 cents a bushel, why should not Russia take all of the markets away—take the entire foreign market?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. If there are any problems between governments, they can always be solved in a friendly way when they can sit around

the table and discuss these problems; but you can never discuss any problem by having interviews in the press in Moscow or Washington, which are usually misrepresented, misinterpreted, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you ever solve any problem as long as the Third International has its headquarters in Moscow?

Mr. SKVIRSKY. I hope to see the American Government, as the European governments are, friendly with the Soviet Government, beyond the Third International, and deal with the Soviet Government as a government.

The CHAIRMAN. The European governments do not take that attitude, though.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Why not?

The CHAIRMAN. England does not take that attitude.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. Why not?

The CHAIRMAN. They hold the Soviet Government responsible for the Third International.

Mr. SKVIRSKY. When relations were reestablished with England our representatives the attitude of the Soviet Government, they agreed to it. The press reports to this effect from time to time; and they may have some disagreements, as other governments, but that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? If not, thank you very much, Mr. Skvirsky.

(The following are figures and lists submitted by Mr. Skvirsky, as requested by the committee:)

[From Moscow *Izvestia*, July 14, 1930]

POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Elected at XVI party congress, July 13, 1930)

Members:

Voroshilov, Kliment I.
Kaganovich, Lazar M.
Kalinin, Mikhail I.
Kirov, Sergey M.
Kossior, Stanislaw V.
Kuibyshev, Valerian V.
Molotov, Viacheslav M.
Ordzhonikidze, G. K. (19).

Members—Continued.

Rudzutak, Ian E.
Stalin, Joseph V.

Candidates.

Mikoyan, Anastasi I.
Chubar, Vlas Y.
Petrovsky, Grigory I.
Andreyev, Andrey A.
Syrtsov, Sergey I.¹

ORGANIZATION BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Elected at XVI party congress, July 13, 1930)

Members:

Akulov, I. A.
Bauman, K. Y.
Bubnov, A. S.
Gamarnik, Y. B.
Kaganovich, L. M.
Lobov, S. S.
Molotov, V. M.
Moskvin, I. M.

Members—Continued.

Postishev, P. P.
Stalin, J. V.
Shevrnik, N. M.

Candidates:

Smirnov, A. P.
Tsikhon, A. M.
Kosarev, A. V.
Dogadov, A. I.

¹ Dropped from Central Committee of Party December 1, 1930. See "*Izvestia*" Dec. 2, 1930.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Elected at sixteenth party congress, July 13, 1930)

Members :

Alexeyev, P. A.
 Andreyev, A. A.
 Antipov, N. K.
 Badayev, A. E.
 Bauman, K. Y.
 Bubnov, A. S.
 Bukharin, N. I.
 Vareikis, I. M.
 Voroshilov, K. E.
 Gamarnik, Y. B.
 Goloschekin, F. I.
 Zhdanov, A. A.
 Zhukov, I. P.
 Zelensky, I. A.
 Kabakov, I. D.
 Kaganovich, I. M.
 Kadatzky, I. F.
 Kalinin, M. I.
 Kviring, E. I.
 Kirov, S. M.
 Knorin, V. G.
 Kolotilov, N. N.
 Komarov, N. F.
 Kosior, I. V.
 Kosior, S. V.
 Krjijanovsky, G. M.
 Krupskaya, N. K.
 Kubiak, N. A.
 Kuibyshev, U. V.
 Lebed, D. Z.
 Leonov, F. G.
 Lobov, S. S.
 Lominadze, V. V.²
 Lomov, G. I.
 Liubimov, I. E.
 Mannilsky, D. Z.
 Menjinsky, V. R.
 Mikoyan, A. I.
 Molotov, V. M.
 Moskvyn, I. M.
 Nosov, I. P.
 Orakhelashvili, I. D.
 Petrovsky, G. I.
 Postyshev, P. P.
 Piatakov, Y. L.
 Platnitsky, I. A.
 Rudzutak, Y. E.
 Rumiantsev, I. P.
 Rukhimovich, M. L.
 Rykov, A. I.
 Ryndin, K. V.
 Skrypnik, N. A.
 Smirnov, A. P.
 Stalin, J. V.
 Stetsky, A. I.
 Striersky, K. K.
 Sulimov, D. E.

Members—Continued.

Syrtsov, S. I.²
 Tolokontsev, A. F.
 Tonski, M. P.
 Ukhanov, K. V.
 Khatayevich, M. M.
 Tsikhon, A. M.
 Chubar, V. Y.
 Chuvyrin, P. E.
 Chudov, M. S.
 Shwartz, S.
 Shvernik, N. M.
 Sheboldayev, B. P.
 Eikhe, R. I.
 Yakovlev, Y. A.

Candidates :

Baranov, P. I.
 Uryvayev, M. E.
 Afanasiev, S. J.
 Griadinsky, F. P.
 Kuritsyn, V. I.
 Isayev, U. D.
 Kartvelishvili (Lavrenti).
 Rumantsiev, K. A.
 Smorodin, P. I.
 Oshvintsev, M. K.
 Stroganov, V. A.
 Unshlikht, I. S.
 Ivanov, V. I.
 Kaminsky, G. N.
 Mussabekov, G. K.
 Sukhomlin, K. V.
 Chutskeyev, S. E.
 Volkov, P. Y.
 Voronova, P. Y.
 Khlopliankin, M. I.
 Pozern, B. P.
 Yurkin, T. A.
 Bulatov, D. N.
 Goloded, N. M.
 Briukhanov, N. P.
 Kalmanovich, M. I.
 Mezhlauk, V. I.
 Gei, K. V.
 Semenov, B. A.
 Terekhov, R. Y.
 Eliava, S. Z.
 Ikramov, A.
 Mikhailov, V. M.
 Lozovsky, S. A.
 Nikolayeva, K. I.
 Savelev, M. A.
 Amosov, A. M.
 Kakhiani, M. I.
 Antselovich, N. M.
 Kosarev, A. V.
 Tsarkov, F. F.
 Ossinsky, V. V.

² Dropped from central committee of party, Izvestia, Dec. 2, 1930.

Candidates—Continued.

Bulin, A. S.
 Chaplin, N. P.
 Yakir, I. E.
 Serebrovsky, A. P.
 Perepechko, I. N.
 Yagoda, G. G.
 Popov, N. N.
 Mikhailov-Ivanov, M. S.
 Kalygina, A. S.
 Pakhomov, N. I.
 Weinberg, G. D.
 Sedelnikov, A. I.
 Klimenko, I. E.

Candidates—Continued.

Bulat, I. L.
 Krinitski, A. I.
 Polonsky, V. I.
 Sokolnikov, G. Y.
 Prukha, V. V.
 Schmidt, V. V.
 Bergavinov, S. A.
 Kiselev, A. S.
 Koslov, I. I.
 Dogadov, A. I.
 Mirzoyan, L. I.
 Ubovich, I. P.

CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION OF COMMUNIST PARTY

(Elected at XVI Party Congress, July 13, 1930)

Members:

Akulov, I. A.
 Ansa-Mukhamedov.
 Apse.
 Aronshtam, G. N.
 Aronshtam, L. H.
 Artiukhina, A. V.
 Baichurin, G. G.
 Balitsky, V. A.
 Baltabayev, S.
 Bauer, Y. Y.
 Belenky, Z. M.
 Belenky, I. S.
 Berezin, N. S.
 Bliznichenko, A. E.
 Bobbe, M. Y.
 Bogdanov, I. A.
 Bogdanov, M. V.
 Bogdanov, P. B.
 Boichenko, A.
 Bolotnikov, M. F.
 Borschevsky, A. G.
 Brize, M. M.
 Busse, K. Y.
 Vassiliev, S. V.
 Vassilieva, E. O.
 Velikanov, S.
 Vent, A. I.
 Viksnin, S. O.
 Vitkovsky, A. F.
 Vladimirov, R.
 Volkov, A. V.
 Voloshin.
 Voerobiev.
 Gaza, I.
 Gemerweld, M.
 Ginzburg, S. Z.
 Gorchayev, M. D.
 Goltzman, A. Z.
 Goreva, E.
 Grigorieva, M. P.
 Grossman, V. Y.
 Grossman, M. B.
 Gruzel, V. P.
 Griazev, I. A.
 Gurevich, A. I.
 Gusev, C. I.

Members—Continued.

Deschenko, P. P.
 Dirik, K. Y.
 Dovletbayev.
 Drejgin, I. V.
 Endokimov, E. G.
 Evreinov, N. N.
 Evseyev, M. E.
 Egorov, Y. G.
 Enukidze, A. Z.
 Juchayev, D. A.
 Zaitsev, G. A.
 Zaitsev, F. I.
 Zangwill, Z. G.
 Zarin, R. P.
 Zatonsky, V. P.
 Zvonarev, S. A.
 Zemliachka, R. S.
 Zimin, N. N.
 Ivanov, A. A.
 Ivanov, I. I.
 Ivanov-Kavkazsky.
 Ignat, S. I.
 Ilin, N. I.
 Isayev (Sormovo).
 Kaganovich, M. M.
 Kalashnikov, M. I.
 Kalnin, A. Y.
 Karavayev, P. N.
 Karasen.
 Karpov.
 Kasumov.
 Kirkkizh, K. O.
 Kiselev, A. L.
 Klyuev, P. N.
 Kovalev, M. I.
 Kozhevnikov, I. F.
 Kozen, I. F.
 Kokovikhin, M. N.
 Koltun, I. M.
 Kopiev, A. K.
 Korostelev, G. A.
 Korotkov, I. I.
 Kostanyan, G. A.
 Kochkarev (Izhevsk)
 Krivov, T. S.
 Kruglikov, S. L.

Members—Continued.

Krumin, G. I.
 Krylenko, N. V.
 Kriukov, P. V.
 Kulikov, M. M.
 Kulpe, Y. K.
 Larin, V. F.
 Larichev, A. I.
 Leizer, I. I.
 Liaksutkin, F. F.
 Magidov, B. O.
 Maiorov, M. M.
 Maltsev, N. V.
 Mandalian.
 Manzhara, D. I.
 Martinovich, K. F.
 Medvedev.
 Messing, S. A.
 Milchakov, A. I.
 Miliutin, V. P.
 Muranov, M. K.
 Nazaretian, A. M.
 Nazarov, S. I.
 Novoselov, S. A.
 Nosov, P. N.
 Ozersky, A. V.
 Ordzhonikidze, G. K.
 Osmov, N. M.
 Pavlunovsky, I. P.
 Panov, N. F.
 Perekatov, I. G.
 Peters, A. K.
 Pokrovsky, M. N.
 Pospelov, P. N.
 Pylayev, E. N.
 Rakutin, N. G.
 Rastopchin, N. P.
 Redens, S. F.
 Rivkin, O. L.
 Rozenholtz, A. P.
 Roizemman, B. A.
 Romanov, G. I.
 Ruben, R. G.
 Rumantsiev, G. K.
 Saltanov, S.
 Savestini, D. I.
 Sakharova, P. F.
 Sakhianova, M. M.

Members—Continued.

Sevriugin, E.
 Semichev, E. T.
 Sergnshev, M. S.
 Sidorov, K. G.
 Siansky-Mikhailov, S. I.
 Slavinsky, A. S.
 Smirnov, M.
 Smorodin, I. T.
 Soifer, Y. G.
 Sokolovskaya, E. K.
 Soltz, A. A.
 Soms, K. P.
 Stasova, E. D.
 Streltsov, G. M.
 Struppe, P. I.
 Struchkov, I.
 Strurua, I. F.
 Sudin, S. K.
 Tatko, F. P.
 Tevosyan, I. T.
 Trilisser, M. A.
 Ulianova, M. I.
 Uralov, S. G.
 Feigin, V. G.
 Figatner, Y. P.
 Filler, S. I.
 Frolov, A. T.
 Khitarov, R.
 Tsvetkov, N. G.
 Tsilko, F. A.
 Chanke, A. K.
 Chemodanov, V. G.
 Chubin, Y. A.
 Chuknova Zhamal.
 Shaduntz, S. K.
 Shaposhnikova, L. K.
 Shatzkin, L. A.³
 Shveitzer, V. L.
 Shkirich, N. R.
 Shkiriakov, M. F.
 Shotman, A. V.
 Shtraukh, E. N.
 Shushkov, P. S.
 Schadenko, E. A.
 Ego, F. G.
 Yakovlev, N. M.
 Yaroslavsky, Em.

NOTE.—According to the New York Times of December 23, Andrey Andreyev has been made chairman of the central control commission to succeed G. K. Ordzhonikidze.

UNION CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

According to the list of members elected at the fifth congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on May 28, 1929, and published in the Moscow Izvestia of May 29, 1929, the names listed in the chart as being among the members and candidates (alternates) of the central executive committee are correct.

The names given as being among the members of the presidium of the union central executive committee are also correct.

³ Dropped from Control Committee Dec. 1, 1930. See Izvestia, Dec. 2, 1930.

SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

President, Molotov, V. M. (18).

Vice president, Rudzutak, Y. E.

Vice President, Kuibyshev, V. V.

Commissar for foreign affairs, Litvinov, M. M. (1).

Assistant commissar for foreign affairs, Krestinsky, N. N. (1).

Assistant commissar for foreign affairs, Karakhan, L. M. (1).

Commissar for army and navy, Voroshilov, K. E.

Assistant commissar for army and navy, Ubovich, I. P. (2).

Assistant commissar for army and navy, Gamarnik, Y. B. (2).

Commissar for internal trade, Mikoyan, A. I.

Commissar for foreign trade, Rozenholtz, A. P. (3).

Assistant commissar for foreign trade, Liubimov, I. E. (4).

Assistant commissar for foreign trade, Ozersky, A. V. (4).

Assistant commissar for foreign trade, Weitzer, I. Y. (4).

Commissar for transport, Rukhimovich, K. E. (2).

Assistant commissar for transport, Postnikov, A. M. (5).

Assistant commissar for transport, Zof, V. I. (6).

Commissar for post and telegraph, Antipov, N. K. (7).

Assistant commissar for post and telegraph, Liubovich, A. M. (7).

Assistant commissar for post and telegraph, Smirnov, N. I. (7).

Commissar for workers' and peasants' inspection (Ordzhonikidze, formerly commissar, transferred to supreme economic council; successor not yet announced).

Assistant commissar for workers' and peasants' inspection (Ordzhonikidze, formerly commissar, transferred to supreme economic council; successor not yet announced).

Commissar for labor, Tsikhon, A. M. (1).

Assistant commissar for labor, Kraval, I. A. (8).

Commissar for finance, Griuko, G. F. (9).

Commissar for agriculture, Yakovlev, Y. A. (10).

Assistant commissar for agriculture, Klimenko, I. E. (11).

Assistant commissar for agriculture, Ezhov, N. I. (11).

Assistant commissar for agriculture, Odintsov, S. S. (12).

Assistant commissar for agriculture, Schmidt, V. V. (13).

Assistant commissar for agriculture, Birn, I. G. (13).

President supreme council of national economy, Ordzhonikidze, G. K. (9).

Vice president supreme council of national economy, Pavlunovsky, I. P. (14).

Vice president supreme council of national economy, Lobov, S. S. (15).

Vice president supreme council national economy, Dogadov, A. I. (16).⁴

The state plan commission (gosplan) is erroneously listed under the soviet of people's commissars. It should be listed under important state organs.

Its officers are as follows: President of gosplan, Kuibyshev, V. V. (9); vice president of gosplan, Krzhizhanovsky, G. M. (9).

The other vice presidents listed in the chart still stand, according to the All-Moscow Directory for 1930.

A corrected list of the chiefs of important state organs follows:

President of supreme concession committee, Kamenev, L. B.

President of central union of consumers cooperatives, Badayev, A. E.

President of united state political administration, Menzhinsky, V. R.

Vice presidents, Yagoda, G. G.; Meissing, S. A.

President of board of directors of State Bank of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Kalmanovich, M. Y. (9).

President of supreme court of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Vinokurov, A. N.

President of Moscow soviet, Ukhanov, K. V.

President of Leningrad soviet, Komarov, N. P.

President of soviet of commissars of the Ukraine, Chubar, V. Ya.

President of Ukrainian central executive committee, Petrovsky, G. I.

President of White-Russian soviet of commissars, Goloded, N. M.

President of White-Russian central executive committee, Cherviakov, A. G.

President of Trans-Caucasus central executive committee, Mussabekov, V. G. F. (17).

⁴ According to the New York Times of Dec. 22 Dogadov has been removed as a vice chairman of the supreme council of national economy.

President of Trans-Caucasus soviet of commissars, Eliava, Shalva, Z.
 President of Uzbekistan central executive committee, Akhun-Babayev, Yu.
 President of Uzbekistan soviet of commissars, Khodzhayev, F.
 President of Turkmenistan central executive committee, Aitakov, N.
 President of Turkmenistan soviet of commissars, Atabayev, K. S.
 President of R. S. F. S. R. central executive committee, Kalinin, Mikhail.
 President of R. S. F. S. R. council of people's commissars, Sulinov, D. E. (9).

Names of officials of the Krestintern (correct translation of the word is Peasant International and not International Peasant Soviet) Mopr, and the Communist International of Youth are erroneously placed under the same heading as above. These are in no way state organs. The Soviet Union Information Bureau has no means of checking whether or not the names of the officials of these organizations are given correctly.

The list of members of the Soviet of Labor and Defense (STO) corresponds to the list given in All Moscow, the 1930 directory, except that the name of the chairman, A. I. Rykov, is omitted as well as the names of the members V. V. Schmidt and G. L. Piatakov.

According to the Kalendar Kommunist⁵ for 1929, the names given as being among the members of the executive committee and the international control commission of the Communist International are correct with the exception of Tsakaya. Bukharin was dropped from the political secretariat of the Comintern in July, 1929. The names given as being among the members of the presidium of the executive committee and the political secretariat of the comintern are correct, with the exception of Gusev.

The information bureau has no means of checking up the members of the central council of the Red International of trade-unions and executive bureau of the Red International of labor unions beyond the references given in the chart.

Source of information:

1. Soviet Union Review, September-October, 1930.
2. Soviet Union Review, July-August, 1930.
3. Izvestia, November 23, 1930.
4. Izvestia, November 29, 1930.
5. Izvestia, July 16, 1930.
6. Collected laws of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, section 2, No. 3, February 18, 1930.
7. Izvestia, August 7, 1930.
8. Za Industrializatsia, August 6, 1930.
9. Soviet Union Review, December, 1930.
10. Soviet Union Review, January, 1930.
11. Izvestia, November 19, 1929.
12. Izvestia, February 9, 1930.
13. Izvestia, December 2, 1930.
14. Izvestia, November 14, 1930.
15. Izvestia, June 24, 1930.
16. Izvestia, April 2, 1930.
17. Collected laws of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, section 2, No. 23, June 17, 1929.
18. New York Times, December 20, 1930.
19. New York Times, December 22, 1930.

(The following are the exhibits submitted by Mr. Skvirsky:)

SKVIRSKY EXHIBIT No. 2

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

PREFACE

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists at present of the following six independent republics: The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Turkoman Socialist Soviet Republic, and the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic.

⁵ It is possible that changes have been made since the publication of the Kalendar Kommunist, but the information bureau has no record of them.

Each of these independent republics has its own constitution defining the government organs of the given republic, establishing the jurisdiction of those organs, and formulating the basic rights of the citizens of the republic.

The constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic was the first to be published, having been adopted by the Fifth All-Russian Soviet Congress of July 10, 1918.

The Soviet Republics of the Ukraine, White Russia, and Transcaucasia (the latter including the republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan), which were organized after the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, were for several years connected with the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics through treaties of alliance under which some branches of the state administration were united.

The need for a closer union of the allied republics was responsible for the formation of a single union state, built on the principle of federalism—viz, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which upon recommendation of the First All-Union Soviet Congress (December 31, 1922), was adopted by the central executive committee on July 6, 1923, was finally ratified by the Second All-Union Soviet Congress in 1924.

In 1925 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was joined by the Uzbek and Turkoman Republics, which were formed out of the Turkestan Autonomous Republic and the Bokhara and Khiva Republics, which had been previously allied to the Soviet Union. In this connection a few changes and additions were embodied in the constitution of the Third All-Union Soviet Congress.

Further changes and additions were made in the Soviet Constitution at the Fourth All-Union Soviet Congress, which was held in April, 1927.

The present edition includes the latest text of the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics actually in force, with all the amendments adopted by the All-Union Soviet Congresses held in 1925 and 1927.

CONSTITUTION

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, solemnly proclaiming the permanency of the foundations of the soviet power, in execution of the resolution of the First Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and likewise, on the basis of the agreement for the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, adopted at the First Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Moscow on December 30, 1922, and taking into consideration the corrections and amendments proposed by the central executive committees of the constituent republics, resolves:

The declaration of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the treaty concerning the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall form the fundamental law (constitution) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

SECTION I.—DECLARATION REGARDING THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Since the formation of the Soviet Republics, the states of the world have divided into two camps—that of capitalism and that of socialism.

There—in the camp of capitalism—are national enmity and inequality, colonial slavery and chauvinism, national oppression and massacres, imperialist brutalities and wars.

Here—in the camp of socialism—are mutual confidence and peace, national freedom and equality, a dwelling together in peace and the brotherly collaboration of peoples.

The efforts of the capitalist world, in the course of the decades, to solve the question of nationalities by the joint methods of the free development of peoples and the exploitation of man by man have proven vain. On the contrary, the web of national antagonism is becoming even more entangled, threatening the very existence of capitalism. The bourgeoisie has proven incapable of bringing about cooperation among peoples.

Only in the camp of the soviets, only under the prevalence of the proletarian dictatorship around which the majority of the population has rallied, has it become possible to destroy national oppression root and branch, to create an atmosphere of mutual trust, and to lay the foundations for the brotherly cooperation of peoples.

Only, thanks to these circumstances, have the Soviet Republics been able to repel the external as well as the internal attacks of world imperialism. Solely because of these circumstances were they able successfully to end the civil war, to secure their existence, and to pass to the tasks of peaceful economic reconstruction.

But the years of war have not passed without leaving traces. The devastated fields and idle factories, the destruction of productive forces and the depletion of economic resources, this legacy of the war, make the isolated efforts of individual republics toward economic reconstruction inadequate. The restoration of national economy was found impossible as long as the separate republics maintained a divided existence.

On the other hand, the instability of the international situation and the danger of new attacks point to the necessity of creating a common front of the Soviet Republics in the face of the surrounding capitalist world.

Finally, the very structure of the soviet power, which is international in its class character, calls the working masses of the Soviet Republic toward a unity of one socialist family.

All these circumstances imperatively demand the unification of the Soviet Republics into one federal State, able to assure both its external security and internal economic prosperity, as well as the unhampered development of the various nations.

The will of the peoples of the Soviet Republics recently assembled at the congresses of their soviets and there unanimously accepting the decision for the formation of the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," serves as a reliable guaranty that this union shall be the voluntary association of equal nations, that each republic is secured the right of free withdrawal from the union; that admission to this union shall be open to all socialist soviet republics, such as are now existing and such as shall arise in the future, that the new united State is a fitting consummation of the beginnings which had their inception in November, 1917, toward the peaceful and brotherly collaboration of the peoples, that it shall stand as the firm bulwark against world capitalism, and form a decisive step toward the union of the workers of all countries into one world socialist soviet republic.

SECTION II.—COVENANT

The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (consisting of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan, the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia, and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia), the Turkoman Socialist Soviet Republic, and the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic, by this covenant enter into a single Federal State to be known as Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

CHAPTER I.—*Competence of the supreme organs of authority of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

1. The sovereignty of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as exercised through the supreme governing departments, shall include:

(a) The representation of the union in international relations, the conduct of all diplomatic intercourse and the conclusion of political and other treaties with other foreign States.

(b) The modification of the external frontiers of the union and the regulation of questions dealing with the alteration of boundaries between the constituent republics.

(c) The conclusion of treaties for the admission of new republics into the union.

(d) The declaration of war and the conclusion of peace.

(e) The contracting of foreign and domestic loans by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the sanctioning of foreign and domestic loans of the constituent republics.

(f) The ratification of international treaties.

(g) Control of foreign trade, and establishment of a system of internal trade.

(h) Establishment of the basic principles and of a general plan for the whole national economic system of the union; determination of the branches of industry and of separate industrial undertakings which are of federal

scope; and the conclusion of concession agreements, both of federal scope and in behalf of the various constituent republics.

(i) The control of transport, posts, and telegraphs.

(j) The organization and control of the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(k) The approval of a single state budget for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics comprising the budgets of the constituent republics; determination of the taxes and revenues applying to the whole Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as also of deductions therefrom and additions thereto for the budgets of the constituent republics; authorization of additional taxes and dues for the budgets of the constituent republics.

(l) Establishment of a single currency and credit system.

(m) Establishment of general principles governing the distribution and use of land and the exploitation of mineral wealth, forests, and waterways throughout the whole territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(n) Federal legislation on migration from one republic to another, and establishment of a colonization fund.

(o) Establishment of basic principles for the composition and procedure of the courts and the civil and criminal legislation of the union.

(p) The establishment of fundamental labor laws.

(q) Establishment of the general principles of public education.

(r) Adoption of general measures for the protection of public health.

(s) Establishment of a system of weights and measures.

(t) The organization of federal statistics.

(u) Fundamental legislation in the matter of citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in relation to the rights of foreigners.

(v) The right of amnesty extending over the whole territory of the union.

(w) The repeal of decisions adopted by the different soviet congresses and central executive committees of the several constituent republics infringing upon the present constitution.

(x) Settlement of controversies arising between the constituent republics.

2. The ratification and amendment of the fundamental principles of the present constitution shall be exclusively delegated to the congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

CHAPTER II.—*The sovereignty of the several constituent republics and federal citizenship*

3. The sovereignty of the constituent republics is restricted only within the limits stated in the present constitution, and only in respect of matters referred to the competence of the union. Beyond these limits each constituent republic exercises its state authority independently. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics protects the sovereign rights of the constituent republics.

4. Each of the constituent republics shall have the right of free withdrawal from the union.

5. The constituent republics shall introduce alterations in their respective constitutions to bring them in conformity with the present constitution.

6. The territory of the constituent republics shall not be altered without their consent. For the modification, limitation, or repeal of article 4 of the present constitution the consent of all the republics forming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is required.

7. A uniform citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is established for citizens of the constituent republics.

CHAPTER III.—*Congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

8. The supreme authority of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be vested in the congress of soviets, and, during the intervals of sessions of the congresses of soviets, in the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which shall consist of the council of the union and the council of nationalities.

9. The congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be composed of representatives of city soviets and soviets of urban settlements on the basis of 1 deputy for each 25,000 electors, and of representatives of provincial and district soviet congresses on the basis of 1 deputy for each 125,000 inhabitants.

10. The representatives to the congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be elected at the provincial and district soviet con-

gresses. In those republics which have no provincial or district units the delegates shall be elected directly at the congresses of soviets of the respective republics.

11. Ordinary congresses of the soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be convened by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics once in two years; extraordinary congresses shall be convened by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics either on its own initiative or on the demand of the council of the union or council of nationalities, or of any two of the constituent republics.

12. Under extraordinary circumstances preventing the convening of the congress of the soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the appointed time, the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have the right to postpone the convening of the congress.

CHAPTER IV.—*The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

13. The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall consist of the council of the union and the council of nationalities.

14. The congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall elect the council of the union from among the representatives of the constituent republics counted in proportion to the population of each republic, the number to be determined by the congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

15. The council of nationalities shall be formed of the representatives of the constituent and autonomous soviet socialist republics on the basis of five representatives from each; and of the representatives of autonomous areas on the basis of one representative from each. The composition of the council of nationalities as a whole shall be subject to confirmation by the congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

16. The council of the union and the council of nationalities shall examine all decrees, codes, and regulations submitted by the presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, by separate people's commissariats of the union or by the Central Executive Committees of the constituent republics; as well as those proposed on the initiative of the council of the Union and the council of nationalities.

17. The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics issues codes, decrees, regulations, and orders, combines the work of legislation and administration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and determines the scope of activities of the presidium of the Central Executive Committee and the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

18. All decrees and ordinances determining the general principles of the political and economic life of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and also those which introduce fundamental changes in the existing practice of the state organs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, must be submitted for the examination and ratification of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

19. All decrees, regulations, and orders issued by the Central Executive Committee must be immediately carried out throughout the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

20. The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have the right to suspend or repeal decrees, regulations, and ordinances of the presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the congresses of soviets, and of the Central Executive Committees of the constituent republics, and of other organs of authority within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

21. The regular sessions of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be convened by the presidium of the Central Executive Committee three times a year. The extraordinary sessions shall be convened by decision of the presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics upon the demand of the presidium of the council of the union or the presidium of the council of nationalities, and also upon the demand of the Central Executive Committee of any one of the constituent republics.

22. Legislative bills submitted for consideration by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall become laws only after

having been passed by both the council of the union and the council of nationalities; they are published in the name of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

23. In case of disagreement between the council of the union and the council of nationalities, the question at issue shall be referred to an adjustment commission appointed by these two organs.

24. If no agreement be reached in the adjustment commission, the question shall be referred to a joint session of the council of the union and of the council of nationalities, wherein, in the event that no majority vote of the council of the union or of the council of nationalities can be obtained, the question may be referred, on the demand of either of these bodies, for decision to either the regular or extraordinary congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

25. The council of the union and the council of nationalities each elects a presidium of nine of its members to arrange its sessions and conduct the work of the latter.

26. In the intervals between sessions of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics supreme authority is vested in the presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, formed by the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 27 members, amongst whom are included the whole of the presidium of the council of the union and the presidium of the council of nationalities.

For the purpose of constituting the presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in accordance with articles 26 and 37 of this constitution, a joint session of the council of the union and of the council of nationalities is called. The voting at the joint session of the council of the union and of the council of nationalities is effected separately by the council of the union and by the council of nationalities.

27. The central executive committee elects, in accordance with the number of constituent republics, the chairmen of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from among members of the presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

28. The central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be responsible to the congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

CHAPTER V.—*The presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

29. The presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall during the intervals between the sessions of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics be the highest legislative, executive, and administrative organ in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

30. The presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have the power to supervise the carrying into effect of the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the carrying out by all organs of authority of all decisions of the congress of soviets and of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

31. The presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have the power to suspend or to repeal the decisions of the council of people's commissars and of the individual people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the central executive committees and the councils of people's commissars of the constituent republics.

32. The presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have the power to suspend the decisions of the congresses of soviets of the constituent republics, and subsequently thereto to submit such decisions for examination and ratification to the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

33. The presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall pass decrees, regulations, and ordinances, shall examine and ratify draft decrees and resolutions submitted by the council of people's commissars, by the separate departments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, by the central executive committees of the constituent republics, their presidia and by other organs of authority.

34. The decrees and decisions of the central executive committee, of its presidium, and of the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be printed in the languages in general use within the constituent Republics (Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Turko-Tartar).

35. The presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have the power to decide the questions pertaining to the interrelations between the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the individual people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the one hand, and the central executive committees of the constituent republics and their presidia, on the other hand.

36. The presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be responsible to the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

CHAPTER VI.—*The council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

37. The council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be the executive and administrative organ of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and it shall be formed by the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as follows:

Chairman of the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Vice chairman.

People's commissar for foreign affairs.

People's commissar for army and navy.

People's commissar for foreign and domestic trade.

People's commissar for transport.

People's commissar for posts and telegraphs.

People's commissar for workers' and peasants' inspection.

Chairman of the supreme council of national economy.

People's commissar for labor.

People's commissar for finance.

Director of central statistical board.

38. The council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and by virtue of the statute about the council of people's commissars, shall issue decrees and regulations which must be executed throughout the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

39. The council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall examine decrees and regulations submitted by the individual people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or by the Central Executive Committee of the constituent republics and by their presidia.

40. The council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be, in all of its work, responsible to the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to its presidium.

41. Decrees and regulations of the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may be suspended and repealed by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its presidium.

42. The central executive committees of the constituent republics and their presidia may appeal against the decrees and decisions of the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics without suspending their execution.

CHAPTER VII.—*The supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

43. In order to maintain revolutionary legality throughout the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics there shall be created a supreme court, attached to the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which shall have the power and jurisdiction:

(a) To give the supreme courts of the constituent republics guiding interpretations on questions concerning general federal legislation.

(b) To examine and appeal to the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the motion of the attorney general of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, against resolutions, decisions, and verdicts of the supreme courts of the constituent republics on the ground of their being in contradiction to the general legislation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or in so far as they affect the interests of other republics.

(c) To give opinions at the request of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the legality of any regulations made by the constituent republics from the point of view of the constitution.

(d) To adjudicate judiciable controversies between the constituent republics.

(e) To try charges against high officials of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for offenses committed in the discharge of their duties.

44. The supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall function through—

(a) Plenary sessions of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(b) Civil and criminal departments of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(c) Military division.

45. In its plenary session the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall consist of 15 members, including 1 chairman, 1 vice chairman, the chairmen of the plenary sessions of the supreme courts of the constituent republics, and a representative of the joint state political department of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (see art. 61). The chairman, vice chairman, as well as the other seven members, shall be appointed by the presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

46. The attorney general of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and his deputy shall be appointed by the presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The duties of the attorney general of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall include the rendering of opinions on all questions subject to the decision of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to support accusations at its sessions, and in case of nonagreement with the decisions of the plenary session of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to appeal to the presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

47. The right to submit questions specified in article 43 for examination by the plenary session of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is reserved only to the initiative of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, its presidium, the attorney general of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the attorneys general of the constituent republics and the joint state political department of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

48. Plenary sessions of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics set up special legal tribunals (benches) for examination of:

(a) Criminal and civil cases of exceptional importance affecting by their nature two or more of the constituent republics; and

(b) Cases of personal legal liability of the members of the Central Executive Committee and the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The acceptance by the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of these cases in its procedure, can take place solely by special resolution, in each case, of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or its presidium.

CHAPTER VIII.—*The people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

49. For the direct conduct of the separate branches of state administration included in the sphere of the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 10 people's commissariats are set up, enumerated in article 37 of the present constitution, which shall act in accordance with the statutes regarding people's commissariats, confirmed by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

50. The people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be divided into (a) Federal people's commissariats for the entire Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics, and (b) joint people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

51. The Federal people's commissariats for the whole Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be the following:

Foreign Affairs.
Army and Navy.
Foreign and domestic trade.
Transport.
Posts and telegraphs.

NOTE.—In the matter of regulating domestic trade the people's commissariat for foreign and domestic trade of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics enjoys the rights of a joint people's commissariat of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

52. The joint people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be the following:

Supreme council of national economy.
Labor.
Finances.
Workers' and peasants' inspection.
Central statistical board.

53. The Federal people's commissariats of the whole Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall have their plenipotentiary representatives in the constituent republics, who shall be directly subordinated to the Federal people's commissariats.

54. The organs of the joint people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which fulfill their functions in the territory of the constituent republics shall be the people's commissariats of the same name of these republics.

55. At the head of the people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, stand the members of the council of people's commissariats—the people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

56. Attached to each people's commissar, under his chairmanship, is set up a collegium, the members of which are appointed by the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

57. The people's commissar has the right to take personal decisions on all questions within the competence of the corresponding commissariat, reporting them to the collegium. In case of nonagreement with one or other decision of the people's commissar, the collegium or individual members thereof, without suspending the execution of the decision, may lodge a protest with the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

58. Decrees issued by individual people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, may be repealed by the presidium of the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and by the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

59. The decisions of the people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may be suspended by the central executive committees or the presidia of the central executive committees of the constituent republics, whenever such decisions are in manifest conflict with the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with the legislation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or with the legislation of the respective constituent republics. The central executive committees or the presidia of the central executive committees of the constituent republics shall immediately report such suspension to the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to the corresponding people's commissar of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

60. The people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be responsible to the council of people's commissars, to the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the presidium thereof.

CHAPTER IX.—*The joint state political department of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

61. In order to combine the revolutionary efforts of the constituent republics in the fight against political and economic counterrevolution, espionage, and banditism, a joint state political department (O. G. P. U.) is created, attached to the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

the chairman of the department entering the council of people's commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with the right of advisory vote.

62. The joint state political department (O. G. P. U.) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall direct the activities of the local branches of the State political department (G. P. U.) through its representatives attached to the councils of people's commissars of the constituent republics, acting in accordance with a special statute ratified by legislative act.

63. The control of the legality of the acts of the joint state political department of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be exercised by the attorney general of the supreme court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the basis of a special decree made by the central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

CHAPTER X.—*The constituent republics*

64. Within the territory of each constituent republic the supreme organ of authority of the latter shall be the congress of soviets of the republic, and during the intervals between congresses its central executive committee.

65. The interrelations between the supreme organs of governmental authority of the constituent republics and the supreme organs of authority of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are defined by the present constitution.

66. The central executive committees of the constituent republics shall elect from among their number their presidia, which during the intervals between the central executive committee sessions shall constitute the supreme organs of governmental authority.

67. The central executive committees of the constituent republics shall establish their own executive organs, which shall be the councils of people's commissars, consisting of the following:

Chairman of the council of people's commissars.

Vice chairmen.

Chairman of the supreme council of national economy.

People's commissar for agriculture.

People's commissar for finance.

People's commissar for trade.

People's commissar for labor.

People's commissar for internal affairs.

People's commissar for justice.

People's commissar for workers' and peasants' inspection.

People's commissar for education.

People's commissar for health.

People's commissar for social welfare.

Director of central statistical board.

And also, with an advisory or deciding vote, according to the decisions of the respective central executive committees of the constituent republics, the plenipotentiaries of the people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for foreign affairs, army and navy, foreign and domestic trade, transport, and of post and telegraphs.

68. The supreme council of national economy and the people's commissariats for trade, finance, labor, workers' and peasants' inspection, and the central statistical board of the constituent republics, while subordinate to the central executive committees and councils of people's commissars of the constituent republics, shall, in their activities, carry out the instructions of the corresponding people's commissariats of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

69. The right of amnesty, as well as the right of pardon and rehabilitation in regard to citizens condemned by the judicial or administrative organs of the constituent republics, shall be the prerogative of the central executive committees of these republics.

CHAPTER XI.—*The emblem, the flag, and the capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

70. The state emblem of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall consist of a sickle and hammer mounted on a terrestrial globe illuminated by sun rays and surrounded by ears of grain; the ears are intertwined with ribbons bearing the inscription in the six languages mentioned in article 34, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" Above the emblem is a 5-pointed star.

71. The flag of state of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be of red or scarlet cloth; in the upper corner at the staff are a golden sickle and

hammer, surmounted by a 5-pointed star with a golden border. Proportion of width to length is 1:12.

72. The capital city of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be the city of Moscow.

(Skvirsky Exhibits Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10 made a part of committee's files.)

TESTIMONY OF A. DANA HODGDON

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name.

Mr. HODGDON. A. Dana Hodgdon.

The CHAIRMAN. You appear here under subpoena?

Mr. HODGDON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your official position in the State Department?

Mr. HODGDON. Chief of the visa office of the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that position?

Mr. HODGDON. Since July 1, 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. What were you doing before that?

Mr. HODGDON. Assistant chief of the visa office.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you hold that position?

Mr. HODGDON. From February, 1929.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the testimony of Mr. Simmons before this committee?

Mr. HODGDON. Yes, sir; I have read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you agree with the facts that he presented before the committee?

Mr. HODGDON. Mr. Chairman, am I asked to testify now in open session or executive session?

The CHAIRMAN. Why, this is an open session; we called you here for that purpose. That is why you were subpoenaed.

Mr. HODGDON. In this connection, gentlemen, I told the secretary of State of this subpoena and of Mr. Fish's statement that I was asked to testify in open session, and he directed me, as secretary of State, to say that Mr. Simmons and Mr. Kelley—Mr. Simmons being my predecessor and chief of the visa office—both gave to this committee all the testimony that was asked of them at that time. He further instructed me to state I was at liberty to testify before this committee, to amplify Mr. Simmons's testimony, or to add to it in any way that your committee may desire, in executive session. He further instructed me to say that I am not at liberty to testify in open session to the committee, since such testimony, if published, would be contrary to the public interest.

The CHAIRMAN. So you do not want to answer questions in regard to carrying out the laws of the United States in a public hearing?

Mr. HODGDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not want to answer how the State Department carries out the laws enacted by the Congress of the United States, in a public hearing?

Mr. HODGDON. For the reason the Secretary of State believes that the publicity in that connection would be contrary to the public interest.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the Secretary of State wants the public to understand it is contrary to the public interest to have the public know how the laws of Congress are carried out?

Mr. HODGDON. Yes, sir. I should like to add that——

The CHAIRMAN. Just one minute; I will have to take this up with the committee.

Mr. HODGDON. I should like to add to that, Mr. Chairman—because of the nature, certain nature, of the means by which it is necessary to administer these laws.

The CHAIRMAN. All I can say to you is that I was at the hearing when Mr. Simmons testified and I observed nothing of a confidential nature, nothing that he testified to, as far as I remember, that should not have been testified in a public session, and the very reason you were asked to appear here was so that we could use the information in making up our report.

Mr. HODGDON. You knew, Mr. Fish, the Secretary had replied to your request to make public that information, in a similar way. In other words——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I made a request of the Secretary, in writing, that the testimony of Mr. Kelley and Mr. Simmons be made public.

Mr. HODGDON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood that Mr. Kelley desired his testimony to be made public, the man who testified desired it himself, and I was very much surprised to receive a letter that it was against the public interest to have it made public.

Mr. NELSON. In what way is it against public interest? I would like to understand that. Could you explain that to us as to what way that could do any harm?

Mr. HODGDON. I think that would be testifying before the committee.

Mr. NELSON. You are not even at liberty to tell in what way it would do harm?

Mr. HODGDON. In executive session, sir.

Mr. BACHMANN. The witness is detailed here, in answer to the subpoena, by the Secretary of State. He says his testimony is against the public interest or ought not to be heard in public. I do not know what his testimony is, but I think the department is entitled, until we know what his testimony is, to be protected in that respect.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think the committee differs with you on the general premise, but the committee believes it is entitled to know why it is against the public interest to answer questions as to facts in regard to the carrying out of the laws of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. ESICK. Public laws of the United States.

Mr. NELSON. Public duties.

Mr. BACHMANN. As a general principle, that is true; but there may be something here he has in mind, that no member of this committee is familiar with, that for some reason he needs to be protected.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is not going to stultify itself by attempting to force it at the present time without consultation further with the State Department on this. The committee will again make request of the witness if he can present any reason why it is against the public interest for him to answer questions from the

committee in regard to the carrying out of the laws of the Congress of the United States by the State Department?

Mr. HODGDON. I think I have answered that in the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your answer?

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Chairman, I really do not think it is a fair question, because the question assumes something that may or may not be the fact. I do not think the witness ought to be compelled to answer your question. I am just as much interested as you are in this whole thing, but we have to be fair.

Mr. ESLICK. I do not think this witness is in the least to blame; he is only carrying out the instructions of his superior.

The CHAIRMAN. Positively he is not to blame.

Mr. NELSON. The situation must be that the larger part of any answers this man would give, there would be no reason why he could not give in public. If there are certain things that may come up in his testimony that do not want to be given in public, you can easily tell what they are, and he can say he is not prepared to answer in public; but the larger part of his testimony we are entitled to and the public is entitled to.

Mr. ESLICK. But, in the last analysis, this witness is simply carrying out the instructions of his superior.

Mr. NELSON. Absolutely.

Mr. HODGDON. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The question has already been propounded by Mr. Nelson, and his answer is it is against the public interest to make that statement.

Mr. NELSON. Manifestly it is not against the public interest to give us the great mass of information we want. If there is some one thing there—two things or three things—that are against the public interest to reveal, he can tell us.

The CHAIRMAN. The question I asked has already been answered. I do not mean to insist on an answer to the question that has already been answered. The committee is of the opinion the witness should not be forced, under the subpoena, to answer pending our taking the matter up further with the State Department.

Mr. BACHMANN. I do not think you can force him to answer publicly, myself. It is not a question of whether the witness wants to give you the information; he says he will give it to you in executive session. That is not a denial to answer. He wants to give you the information, and so does the State Department, but says it is information he can not give you in public.

Mr. HODGDON. That is correct, sir.

Mr. BACHMANN. All you can do is to stop there until you find out what his testimony is in executive session; then you can proceed, if you want to and make it public.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know that we have that authority at all under our power. I am in accord, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, with the suggestion he should not be required to answer. Whether this committee should take this matter up further with the State Department, and whether we should hear the gentleman in executive session, is a matter for the committee to decide. The committee has already informed the State Department, the majority of them, that they do not want to hear the

testimony in executive session and decline to hear it in executive session.

Mr. BACHMANN. As a member of this committee, I do not know anything about what information he is going to give us.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to hear him in executive session?

Mr. BACHMANN. I do not know what testimony he is going to give.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to hear him in executive session?

Mr. BACHMANN. If he has anything that will help this committee to reach a conclusion, I would like to hear it.

Mr. ESICK. But, after all, if we can not use it, what is it worth to us?

Mr. BACHMANN. The question of whether we can use it is to be determined after we get it.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. ESICK. How can we use it?

Mr. BACHMANN. Who is going to stop you?

Mr. NELSON. Let us find out what there is in the evidence that is objectionable.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to send back Mr. Simmons's statement to the State Department, to the Secretary of State, and ask him kindly to read it over and find out what is objectionable in Mr. Simmons's statement to the committee in executive session and what is against the public interest in publishing the whole thing.

Mr. HODGSON. I think I have a copy of it, if you will tell me the pages.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Simmons's entire statement from the beginning to end. It is very brief—going from page 375 to page 396. Part II, volume 3. We would like to know what there is in that statement of his that is against the public interest to publish, and we would like to hear from the Secretary of State.

Mr. HODGSON. In executive session?

The CHAIRMAN. No; we want to find out what statement Mr. Simmons made before the committee in executive session is against the public interest to publish openly, and using it as far as the public is concerned?

Mr. HODGSON. Mr. Chairman, would not that have the effect, if that was pointed out, of giving you publicly a document which you could publish?

The CHAIRMAN. No; you can write it in a confidential note to the committee or to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, we can meet with him in executive session here and have him point it out; he can come in executive session and point out to the committee what they consider objectionable.

The CHAIRMAN. You want the Secretary of State to appear?

Mr. BACHMANN. Anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. He is speaking for the Secretary of State; he gets his orders from the Secretary.

Mr. BACHMANN. But he wants to come before the committee, in executive session, and point out to the committee what it is that is objectionable.

Mr. NELSON. I think we ought to have the Secretary of State point it out.

The CHAIRMAN. If you want the Secretary to appear before this committee, we can decide that later. You take that up to the Secretary of State and ask him if he has any objections to anything stated there by Mr. Simmons being published; and, if he has, point it out in a confidential letter.

Mr. HODGSON. Would there be any objection to your making that request in writing?

The CHAIRMAN. I think that will be the way to do it; then the committee can determine later on whether they will ask the Secretary of State to appear himself and show any objections he may have to publishing that document.

(The committee thereupon went into executive session, at the conclusion of which an adjournment was taken subject to the call of the chairman.)

PROVIDING FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1930

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Hamilton Fish, jr. (chairman) presiding.

TESTIMONY OF HON. THOMAS L. BLANTON

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Just state your name.

Mr. BLANTON. My name is Thomas L. Blanton and I am of lawful age.

The CHAIRMAN. An American citizen?

Mr. BLANTON. A Member of Congress from the seventeenth district of Texas, and have been for 13 years, off and on.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Blanton, have you any information to furnish this committee?

Mr. BLANTON. I have received a letter from one of the most responsible, creditable, substantial citizens of the United States, who, by the way, is a Republican, but, nevertheless, prominent and substantial and creditable.

Mr. ESICK. And reputable?

Mr. BLANTON. And reputable, and is one of the leading citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., and is my friend and has been my friend for years, and I have absolute confidence in him. He has appeared before this committee previously, and since appearing has sent me, unsolicited, a letter which he said contained data that he had overlooked bringing before the committee, and he would like very much if I would bring it before the committee and get their permission just merely to insert it in the record as a part of the hearing, and I am performing the request of this Republican friend of mine in doing so.

The CHAIRMAN. You want that to be included in his testimony?

Mr. BLANTON. Has his testimony been printed yet?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. BLANTON. I would like this to be printed as an addendum to his testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. It is on the same subject?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes; on the same subject. This is from Mr. Francis Ralston Welsh, of No. 20 South Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; it will be so received and put in the record with that notation.

Mr. BLANTON. That it comes as an addendum to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. Thank you very much.

(The statement referred to was inserted in the record as part of Mr. Welsh's testimony.)

TESTIMONY OF JUDGE PAUL M. W. LINEBARGER

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name?

Judge LINEBARGER. Paul M. W. Linebarger.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you represent any organization appearing here?

Judge LINEBARGER. I am the legal adviser of the National Government of China, but I wish to appear here as an American citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an American citizen?

Judge LINEBARGER. I am, since 1735, my forebears.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a lawyer?

Judge LINEBARGER. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. And have you a residence in this country?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes; I own a residence at No. 2006 R Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first go to China?

Judge LINEBARGER. About a quarter of a century ago. I went out to the Philippines as the judge of the seventh district in 1901, and I resigned on the 1st of January, 1906, to become the legal adviser of Sun Yet Sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic, and I have been identified with China, either overseas China or China itself, ever since that time.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean, more specifically, by "overseas China"?

Judge LINEBARGER. Well, our 60,000 Chinese here now are overseas Chinese. We have millions of Chinese overseas.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you more or less familiar with the Chinese in America?

Judge LINEBARGER. Very closely since 1907.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell the committee whether there is any indication of communism or communistic activities among the Chinese in this country?

Judge LINEBARGER. If the honorable chairman will permit me, I would like to refer, in answering that question, to the transcript of the testimony given in this very excellent record on page 66, in which exhibit Costello No. 1 appears—page 66, Part 5, Volume II, of this committee's record.

Mr. BACHMANN. Where were those hearings held?

Judge LINEBARGER. In San Francisco. There is a caption on this exhibit Costello No. 1. A Night in Soviet China and, if it pleases the committee, I should like to answer this question, very pertinent question, very briefly, by indicating the errors that may come up in the minds of the American people in believing that the Chinese are communistic in China; whereas, they really are simply opponents to what we call the unequal treaties.

The great difficulty in my labor—I am laboring both for my country and for China—the great difficulty in my labor of bringing

China and America together is the fact that neither China understands America, nor does America understand China.

The Chinese have been continuously charged with communism in America; more particularly from the year 1918, when I went up into Canada to obtain the removal or abrogation of an order of the Canadian Government, abrogating the right of the Kuomintang to continue, which involved the imprisonment of over half a hundred Chinese. Since that time, there have been intermittent indications of what Americans would call communism, but what I think should more justly be termed an indiscreet or ill advised attempt on the part of certain Chinese to show the grievance they have against the unequal treaties. You will notice here how cleverly in this Costello Exhibit No. 1—

Mr. BACHMANN. Do I understand from your testimony it is believed generally in the United States that the Chinese have been mixed up in this communist movement?

Judge LINEBARGER. The charge is made not infrequently, as you will notice here in this exhibit. This is just one of a considerable number of accusations made in that regard. Here it is alleged that 35 Chinese (p. 65 of the report just referred to) attended this soviet China night and, if it pleases the committee, I would like to explain how cleverly the soviet workers try to antagonize or, rather, try to stir up a spirit of animosity between America and China, by claiming that the Chinese in America and elsewhere are communistic.

Mr. BACHMANN. Where; over there, or here in America?

Judge LINEBARGER. Here in America and elsewhere. For example, I had, before I left Nanking, referred to me as legal adviser of the National Government, a very, very serious situation involving practically the annihilation of the Kuomintang in the Federated Malay States, involving the deportation of the president of the Kuomintang in Singapore, as well as one of the leading directors of the Kuomintang, on the ground there was communistic activity, of which there was none whatsoever. That is to say, if the soviet can stir up a feeling of distrust against the Chinese authorities through their laws or syndicalism, or what corresponds to them, their general effort is in that direction.

Mr. BACHMANN. Let me ask you right there: Another thing that may not be clear to me, or I may not understand you, you say if the soviets can stir up unrest among the Chinese. Do you mean to use that term literally?

Judge LINEBARGER. Soviets?

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes.

Judge LINEBARGER. It is all done under the direction of the soviets.

Mr. BACHMANN. Or do you mean the communists?

Judge LINEBARGER. Well, the soviets are the communists. I can not understand how anyone can be a part of the Soviet Government without being a communist, in our American sense of the word.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, all soviet citizens are not communists.

Judge LINEBARGER. Well, that enters into a field of controversy, of course, that it would take a long while to overcome, and I am not an expert in these fine distinctions. I know what communism is, as we understand it in China, and know what we are fighting in

China, and although your fine distinctions can be drawn and you have just as many varieties of soviets as you have followers of any religion, I come before this committee not wishing to embarrass it with too much explanation.

Mr. BACHMANN. I just want to get straight what you intended to mean by using that term.

Judge LINEBARGER. Here is the situation: I come to you with a fund of information that would take me weeks and weeks to tell you anything at all about, a fund of information that has been accumulated in 25 years' dealing with another world, a world that even this honorable committee does not understand. Consequently, whatever I say will have to be said very briefly; because, if we were to get entangled and enmeshed in these Chinese conditions, I am sure this committee would find it tedious and tiresome.

But getting back to this Costello Exhibit No. 1, you notice how cleverly the communistic workers, evidently comparatively well-educated communist workers, bring in twice the gunboat treaty idea. You notice in the second paragraph the words "We must demand the immediate withdrawal of American gunboats and marines from Chinese water." Now, that is a slogan that has been in China ever since the days of Caleb Cushing, and that goes back into the forties. The Chinese believe they have a right to govern their country, just as we Americans believe we have a right to govern our country, and they can not govern their country until the gunboats in China are there only with the permission of China. At the present time they are there against the will and wish of China.

You find another reference to gunboats in this Costello exhibit, along the line of that testimony, I believe; in all events, you have a charge of the American Imperialist Government—another usual argument that the soviet uses against Americans in their effort to win over China as their great ally. And let me say here that if the soviet is successful in making a full alliance with China, the whole face of the globe would be changed in very short order; nothing could withstand it then. China represents one-quarter of the population of the whole world. Man to man, they are just as good as we are.

Mr. BACHMANN. What proportion of the population did you say?

Judge LINEBARGER. One-quarter of the population of the whole world, 450,000,000. I really think it is nearer 500,000,000 than 450,000,000.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, it is pretty hard to find out?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes; very hard. And if the soviet can obtain the full alliance of the Chinese, the eventual results will be very contrary to those that our forebears in this country contemplated when they struggled to form our constitutional Government, which we still hope will continue forever.

Referring again to this exhibit and to the clever way in which it brings out the unequal treaty argument, to develop animosity against Americans and to put in the hearts of all Chinese the feeling of a grievance against America, you see how they have invited them to a Chinese banquet and concert. That is the penultimate paragraph of that exhibit.

Now, I gave a two hours' speech about a month ago to the Kuomintang. That is the only political party we have in China.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that, the Nationalist Party?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes; the Nationalist Party, founded by the great leader Sun Yet Sen, whom we think is the greatest man of all time and with whom I was identified for 18 years—from the time I resigned as judge until he died, March 12, 1925. It is the trustee party of the Chinese people. Our Chinese masses are not ignorant; they are illiterate, but not ignorant. You can not say that even the Chinese coolie of the very lowest sort is ignorant, because he is only illiterate; he has that wonderful Chinese brain that picks up anything like a sponge, absorbs anything. It does not take him any time at all to catch on to a new trade. And, in order to protect those masses we have this party over there. This Kuomintang Party is acting as trustee of the masses for the development of China, through what we call a period of tutelage. The Chinese, as political workers, are remarkably strong in the solidarity and they are exceedingly clever; they are just as clever in politics as they are in business, and I think the world agrees there is no one quite as clever in business as the Chinese merchant.

As a final word, in the matter of this Costello exhibit, let me say I doubt, in view of the fact I was in San Francisco just a month ago addressing the Kuomintang organization there, just about a month ago, as their guest, or as being with them—I doubt if there were 35 Chinese that came to that soviet China night, and San Francisco is the largest Chinese center we have in the United States of America.

The CHAIRMAN. You doubt if 35 Chinese came?

Judge LINEBARGER. It says 35 Chinese came. If those 35 Chinese came there, they came there for the purpose of identifying themselves with the movement against what we call "gunboat treaties;" they did not come there as communists, I do not think.

Mr. BACHMANN. Right at that place, Judge: Do you think there are any Chinese communists in the United States?

Judge LINEBARGER. I think, Mr. Bachmann, and I am very safe in saying that the number of Chinese communists is very negligible, when you consider the fact they are merely identifying themselves, from time to time, with communistic forces, in order to abolish the unequal treaties.

Mr. BACHMANN. You would not think, then, there were very many in the United States; that is, actual Chinese communists identified with the party?

Judge LINEBARGER. At the present time, since we have won the last great war, that is to say, the last stage of the 17 years of war in China, they have vanished: they have lost face, as we say in Chinese—they have lost face and got out: joined with us, or else lost face, and are just innocuous. I doubt if you attempted to assemble, unprovoked, a conference of Chinese communists here in America, that you could get even a score or so.

Mr. BACHMANN. The reason I asked that question was this: I had an opportunity to visit in New York City, last June, the Seventh Annual Convention of the Communist Party in Madison Square Garden. Was there the whole night and saw the whole proceedings, and I counted about 12,000 people in there attending that convention. There was a delegation in there that marched down the aisle carrying banners, the same as they do at political conventions, where you have seen different delegations march down the aisle with banners.

There was a delegation of what I took to be Chinese. Some may have been Japanese, but there were some Chinese in the delegation. There were 48 in that delegation that we counted. Now, that is just one place—in New York City, at that convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Furthermore, it is known that they have Chinese instructors at the workers school in New York, who teach some of the main classes there.

Judge LINEBARGER. This very pertinent inquiry is something I will have to answer in a double-barreled manner. My first answer will be in regard to those slogans. I have here some clippings that just came in from a New York clipping bureau, two of them did, in regard to slogans, which consists of letters I have written to two papers here, that will interest you I think, Mr. Bachmann. There is one of them and here are two others [submitting]—one in answer to mine, a scurrilous sort of answer.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Chairman, I do not think we ought to spend any more time on this. We found very few Chinese communists in the United States. This gentleman has spent the most of his time in China and does not claim to be thoroughly familiar with all the Chinese of the United States.

Judge LINEBARGER. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you are quite right, but I think we would like to hear from him, though, in regard to whether he thinks the Chinese Government is able to resist communism over there and, if not, what effect it would have on this country.

Judge LINEBARGER. Will the chairman just permit me here to give the additional answer to this question proposed by Mr. Bachmann? It will only take about 20 words.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not see why you should, because you know very little about the situation among the communists in this country.

Judge LINEBARGER. Very little.

The CHAIRMAN. And I do not know why you should testify as to that; because, if we wanted to get that information, we would get Chinese here. What we particularly want to hear from you is what strides communism is making in China and how it affects the United States.

Judge LINEBARGER. The question then being as to what the condition of communism is in China at the present time, I shall answer by calling your attention to the fact that China is not a country, or a land, or anything in the geographical sense as we know a nation in the western country. It is more than all that: it is a continent. It constitutes a continent within itself, and a continent that does not have very quick methods or, in fact, any quick methods of general communication. And right while I am speaking now, conditions may be very different in certain parts of China than they were when I left there. But I can give you one great authority for saying to you that the National Government of China can control communism in China.

Mr. BACHMANN. It can, or can not?

Judge LINEBARGER. It can—can control communism in China. About 12 weeks ago, I had to go to the battle front of Liuho, where Gen. Chiang Kai Shek, whom I wish you to remember is one of the greatest strategic generals the world has ever known, was making his

final drive and, at the close of a very hard day, when we were down in this shelter eating a meal, with a little candle behind a big pillar, I was feeling pretty weak and, for want of something better to say, I said "General, when you are victorious in this war, do you think you can handle the communists?" He put down his chop sticks and looked at me with a smile, saying "It will be a very small matter compared to what I have in hand now." So that is enough for me. When Gen. Chiang Kai Shek says he can put the communists down, I believe it is right; because there is no question but what his record of the past shows he knows what the necessary program is to be, and whether or not he will be victorious.

• Mr. ESICK. Have you any idea as to the number of communists in China?

Judge LINEBARGER. Any man with an empty stomach will be anything at all. We have probably in China two or three hundred millions that are existing on just a little less than what is necessary to sustain life from our viewpoint.

Mr. ESICK. Well, are they accredited communists?

Judge LINEBARGER. They are not communists, except they have the slogan which is before them constantly, "Share property," which is very attractive to them, because that means something to eat. Communism would not exist in China were it not for the three great allies of famine, want, and hunger, which are there at the present time and which will disappear just as soon as America is awake to the fact that its generosity and philanthropy can be profitable to the American people in China. There is no place in the world where America can invest its money with greater safety and greater assurances of large and profitable return than in China.

Mr. NELSON. Well, Soviet Russia has been active among the Chinese people for some years?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes; the Russians are our next-door neighbors there and, of course—

Mr. NELSON. Well, they have emissaries and teachers and men moving around there fomenting trouble.

Judge LINEBARGER. A wonderful organization.

Mr. NELSON. And that is going on all the time?

Judge LINEBARGER. That is going on all the time, 24 hours a day.

Mr. NELSON. And if those Chinese, or a part of them, are not communists, it is not the fault of Russia.

Judge LINEBARGER. To the contrary, Russia's greatest desire, or the soviet's greatest desire, is to obtain that enormously precious prize of China's splendid ports. When they have that, they will rule the world.

Mr. NELSON. Are the Russians directing the movement of those so-called reds in China?

Judge LINEBARGER. They are Chinese converts. The Russians who are in China are susceptible to the very closest control.

Mr. NELSON. And this is a Russian red movement in China?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And they make some converts to communism and there are thousands of others who are trying to improve their own living conditions?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And how many would you say there are in China—several hundred thousand?

Judge LINEBARGER. I would hesitate to guess, because it will change according to conditions of the harvest, according to the conditions, for example, of the Robert Dollar boats in China, which can make a quarter of a million communists in one day by shooting at them from their American ships.

Mr. NELSON. I remember having read recently of those alleged reds wiping out 20,000 National Government soldiers. Is that correct?

Judge LINEBARGER. I am afraid to answer that, because all these reports are so exaggerated from China that I can not believe them until I have first-hand information through the mails.

Mr. NELSON. Well, there are many thousands of those so-called red Chinese and communists in China and they constitute a serious problem for the National Government.

Judge LINEBARGER. Intensely so. During this last war, our great concern was to try to control the communists who were stabbing us in the back while we were fighting their allies in the front.

Mr. NELSON. Well, there are enough of them now so it is going to require an army of two, or three, or four hundred thousand men to campaign against them, will it not?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes; it will require large armies, but armies of short duration. I think Gen. Chiang Kai Shek, with the help of America, will clean all the communists out, say, in 90 days after America has come in and given some material support.

Mr. NELSON. Well, how can you do that? These communists are men who live there, have their homes there; they are reds to-day and go back home and go to bed. How are you going to tell them?

Judge LINEBARGER. By taking away from the reds their allies of famine, want, and hunger, and taking away the unequal treaties and making loans to China so that China can develop her own vast resources and put people to work.

Mr. NELSON. The way to subdue and obliterate communism in China is to improve the living conditions?

Judge LINEBARGER. Improve the living conditions. There will be no communism in China just as soon as the Chinese people have enough to eat and wear.

Mr. NELSON. And the same is true in this country, is it not?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes; that is it, and it seems to me, if your honorable committee will allow me to inject there this statement, that if we will only help them fight their own misery in China, America will have a market for our own products. There are numerous people in China where we will create a market for ourselves at home, if we only help to fight the misery in China.

Mr. ESLICK. But, in that connection, do not you think charity ought to begin at home?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes, I do; and there is where it does begin—at home—by going overseas and creating a market in China for our own products. We are troubled with unemployment here, because, in the largest country of the whole globe, over there they have nothing, and they are our best potential customers and every dollar we spend over there we will get a return on it—let me be considered

not to be exaggerating when I say we will get a return of tenfold on it in the next generation. There is where charity begins, right at home, because China is as much your home as anywhere else; because the world is no more separated, and China is part of the economic world.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the biggest and most important objective of the Soviet Government, through the Third International at the present time, is to convert China to communism?

Judge LINEBARGER. Everything is strained and stressed to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You think they are concentrating every effort now to try to overcome and bring China in as part of the soviet form of government?

Judge LINEBARGER. I am positively satisfied that the soviet has, as the greatest ambition of its whole history, the political full alliance with China.

The CHAIRMAN. And you believe, if that should occur through some catastrophe, that would be a serious menace to the United States of America?

Judge LINEBARGER. I do not see how we could exist here in America very long with that combination against us. That would mean India would fall in with the soviets and that would be half of the world against America.

Mr. NELSON. A little more than half of the world.

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes. Of course, we Americans will stand out and we will make them pay heavily for any aggression that they commit against us, but what good will that do us?

The CHAIRMAN. You are convinced, then, that if China should go communist, line up with the Soviet Government, it would be a very serious menace not only to our trade but to the country?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes; I think it would be eventually the ruin of this country we have struggled so hard from our forebears to develop. It sounds like hot air but it is not. You go over there and go through what I have, even this last summer, and you will fully concur in my idea. You are dealing there with a quality and kind of men that are not our inferiors, but our equals.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you find the leaders of communism among the Chinese are apt to be college students, educated in the United States and foreign countries?

Judge LINEBARGER. Yes; the leaders, propagandists, particularly those Russia picks out, are always very clever, splendidly educated Chinese. They not only have something of that deep Chinese classical education but they have the modern education and are very fit and superior men, generally very youthful. But it is precocity that has developed their education and they have that willful, aggressive instinct that youth and wisdom generally develops.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you find many of the communist Chinese leaders are educated in American universities and foreign universities?

Judge LINEBARGER. I should not say many of them because there again you have the old question of the difference between the Chinese who looks with tolerance upon communism as a means of abolishing the unequal treaties, and one who is a communist just from sheer adherence to the doctrines. You see, China would not be com-

munist in the soviet sense without a great deal of propaganda, because the Chinese naturally are individualistic and there is no capitalism in China except that we have imported from foreign countries with the comfort of our gunboats and unequal treaties. You can not have communism really in a country where there is capitalism unless it is communism that comes from want, misery, and hunger, such as they have in China.

The CHAIRMAN. And they would not have communism except for the fact their next door neighbor is Russia and they are concentrating on it!

Judge LINEBARGER. That is truly the trouble. Communism is an imported disease; it has been imported into America and has broke out here as a small boil; but in China it has been imported from Russia, and they are inoculated with it through constant contact over the frontiers and easy accessibility.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Judge LINEBARGER. I want to thank the members of the committee for the privilege of appearing before you this morning, and I wish to say that I hope this committee may be made permanent. I think it is the most important committee, outside of the Appropriations Committee; it is the most important committee at the present time in America, and I have looked over the record you have developed and I think this committee is in such splendid hands that it should be made a permanent committee and should cooperate with China, and we will have an opportunity to cooperate with you there.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is a nice thought, Judge, but serving on a permanent committee and putting in the time that we have in the labors of this committee, you do not know what you are wishing on us.

(The following are the clippings submitted for the record by Judge Linebarger:)

LINEBARGER LETTER ON RED MENACE PROVOKES RETORT

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 10, 1930.*

EDITOR THE NEWS: It appears that Mr. Paul Linebarger is back in town, and has modestly let the fact be known by offering to save us from the red menace.

It is too bad that Mr. Linebarger was not furnished with that "premonitory information" of the "transpiration" of Chinese participation in the "communist demonstrations" at the Capitol. If that had been done, then "we" in China might have enjoyed an auto-da-fe worthy of the "destructive forces" of capitalism.

Since when, however, I wonder, is it the duty of an American citizen—as Mr. Linebarger goes impudently on to proclaim himself—to pay the snooper for a reactionary foreign government? And is Mr. Linebarger, I wonder further, the agent that Chiang Kai-shek—the recent convert to Methodism—has sent to Washington to arrange for a loan of \$350,000,000? If so, I have an idea that it might be better for the American taxpayers to let our Chinese communists (if any) alone and to deport Mr. Linebarger.

A. D. GARMAN.

LINEBARGER WOULD DEPORT ANY CHINESE IN REDS' PROTEST

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 5, 1930.*

EDITOR THE NEWS: I have heard of published and other rumors that certain Chinese took part in the communist demonstration at the opening of Congress.

I doubt this very much, for I think that I would have had some premonitory information if the same were to transpire. I shall be very grateful to any-

one who can give me any information concerning the identity of these alleged Chinese, so that I can promptly apply for deportation papers and have the guilty ones deported back to China, where we have a method of dealing with the destructive forces of communism which has proved very successful.

Please note that I write this letter as an American citizen, desirous of a further perpetuation of the friendship which China feels and always will feel toward America.

PAUL LINEBARGER.

[Letters to the Editor]

CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE MISREPRESENTED BY COMMUNISTS AT THE CAPITOL DEMONSTRATION

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: As an American, and not in my official capacity, I beg through this public letter, to correct the impression that in the communist demonstration at the Capitol, at the opening of Congress, any Chinese supported such demonstration, with banners bearing such slogans as "Down with Chinese Exclusion."

I shall not excuse the alleged presence of Chinese at this unlawful gathering, by claiming that they were Koreans, or Filipinos, or Asiatics other than Chinese; for such a suggestion would be unfair even if it could be proved. Moscow is very cunning, and it would not be surprising if a few unworthy Chinese could be found, who would lend themselves for hire, to combat not only the interests of their 450,000,000 patriotic and law-biding brothers, but indeed align themselves with the whole destructive movement of communism.

The banner with the slogan "Down with Chinese Exclusion" is a clever ruse of the soviet, to alarm the American people into believing that China is seeking to break down the exclusion laws. In fact, there is no issue at all in this regard, for the very efficient National Government of China (which will compare favorably with any other government on the planet), recognizes America's right to take such steps as are necessary to protect the economic life of its citizens. The National Government of China is not seeking to dictate any policy which the great American people consider to be contrary to its own domestic needs according to American judgment. Cooperation with the constitutional control of America is the aim of our National Government of China, which is certain that our American people will so assist us in stabilizing constitutional government in China that, with improved Chinese economic conditions in China, it will be no longer necessary for the Chinese to migrate overseas. With the enormous virgin wealth of China, ready for development as soon as the extraterritorial treaties are abrogated, China will need every one of its hundreds of millions, and will provide for them all better at home than they can be provided for in foreign lands.

So let it be understood that this clever ruse from Moscow has nothing whatsoever to do with any ambition of the Chinese people, who only want to be in the employment of their own land, just as we Americans believe that we have a full right to the enjoyment of our own country.

PAUL LINEBARGER,

Legal Adviser National Government of China.

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW IRSHAY

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. State your full name.

Mr. IRSHAY. Andrew Irshay, Trenton, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you represent any organization?

Mr. IRSHAY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. IRSHAY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you native born?

Mr. IRSHAY. Naturalized.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been an American citizen?

Mr. IRSHAY. Since 1919.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. IRSHAY. In Trenton, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. IRSHAY. Newspaper editor and publisher.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in that business?

Mr. IRSHAY. I have been in that business most of my life.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you own a newspaper?

Mr. IRSHAY. I own a newspaper. I just reorganized it into a bilingual newspaper, Hungarian and American. I am reorganizing it now to make a 2-language paper.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it before—Hungarian?

Mr. IRSHAY. American.

The CHAIRMAN. What information can you furnish the committee in regard to communist activities in your vicinity?

Mr. IRSHAY. I believe I can furnish the most peculiar phase of communism that exists anywhere in the world. I have brought with me some of the documents and clippings from newspapers. The peculiar part of it is this: Hungarian communists are working within the organizations, such as churches, lodges, political organizations—Democratic and Republican. Their leaders, the heads, the presidents of these so-called communistic organizations, are members of the churches, are office holders in churches, office holders in lodges, office holders in political Republican and Democratic organizations; they are inside, in something respectable, legitimate, and honorable, and they are boring from within. Thereby the danger is much greater than if they had stayed outside and tried to show their faces or to press their influence upon people in some legitimate way.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you are speaking of people of Hungarian origin, are you not?

Mr. IRSHAY. I am speaking of people of Hungarian origin, mainly; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. And communism is quite widespread among a certain class of Hungarians?

Mr. IRSHAY. The Hungarian labor class, more than the tradesmen.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, among the Magyars; you are not referring to the Hungarian Jew in particular, but to these Magyars?

Mr. IRSHAY. Including the Jews.

The CHAIRMAN. Including the Jews?

Mr. IRSHAY. Because the Hungarian Jew is such a nationalist that he never says he is a Jew, unless he is in church. The Hungarian Jew is a Hungarian all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. When you refer to Hungarians, you include the Jews, but it is just as widespread among the Magyars?

Mr. IRSHAY. The Magyars are in the majority; of course, the Jews are in the minority, but the Jews are the big leaders in New York; the most of them are of Jewish origin, because they have been connected with this movement from the time the communist government was in existence in Hungary.

The CHAIRMAN. But in Trenton there are not many Jews there, are there; they are mostly Hungarians?

Mr. IRSHAY. Very few Jews there.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the population in Trenton?

Mr. IRSHAY. The estimate is about 15,000 of Hungarian birth. You have to take into consideration that after the war Hungary has been split up into four parts, and, although they have been born in Hungary, they are now classed as Roumanians, Czeschoslovakians, Austrians, and Jugoslavs. Like myself, I was born in Hungary, but at present that part of the country I was born in is Czecho-slovakia.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born, up in the Carpathian Hills?

Mr. IRSHAY. Not the Carpathians; I was born on the plains of Hungary, further up there near Sciget on the border line. Where I was born, that city is on the border line of three countries—Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Roumania.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, proceed and give us the facts about communist activities among the Hungarians in Trenton.

Mr. IRSHAY. The communists in Trenton are determined to communize everything there is in Trenton and all over the State of New Jersey, because Trenton is the center for all Hungarian communists in the State of New Jersey, especially. There are 26 interstate lodges, and they get in there as officers—they are presidents, treasurers, and secretaries—and by being on the inside in the high positions they can direct the membership or intimidate the membership to play along with them. And it happens we have a society that has 6,500 members, adult members, and that society is now quivering, it has an element that is quivering, afraid the whole organization will be handed over to the reds. And the main influence is this paper, which is the biggest Bolshevik paper, subsidized Bolshevik paper, anywhere on the face of the earth; this one here [exhibiting].

Mr. BACHMANN. What is the name of it?

Mr. IRSHAY. Uj Elore.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the circulation?

Mr. IRSHAY. The circulation, according to the sworn post-office statement of last October, the semiannual postal statement, was 39,000 and something daily.

Mr. BACHMANN. A man by the name of Bebrits is the editor of that?

Mr. IRSHAY. He is one of the occasional editors; when he is not in jail he is editor; when he is in jail somebody else is editor. This paper is full of some terrible stuff. The paper has been suppressed once during the war. I was influential in getting this paper kept out of the mail, but it worked only for two weeks. The mail was denied to them in 1917, and then restored. This paper is the biggest menace there is, because the paper is read by those people who have not read newspapers in the old country, or studied. Some of them are peasants, have been peasants at home, and some of them are mechanics of some kind, they have learned a trade, and those people have not read newspapers at home, and now this is the only paper they read, and it is full of this revolutionary propaganda. Naturally, they believe it; just like other people believe the Bible, they believe this paper. Now, what happens? It is full of agitation, terrible agitation. I wish I could just submit the whole entire translation of any copy. Here are three copies of this week [exhibiting].

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a daily paper or weekly paper?

Mr. IRSHAY. It is a daily paper—seven times a week.

The CHAIRMAN. Seven times a week; it is published on Sunday, too?

Mr. IRSHAY. Sunday, too. This paper is causing all the trouble. It demands that everything should be run by them and they are sending their editors to all these lodges. When they are going to have meetings in Trenton and all over the United States, there is a list of them, and he can pick out all the meetings that will be held for the next month all over the United States, and they send their men to agitate, and the main purpose is to turn everything over, the whole Hungarian life of the United States should be directed by communists. That is their main purpose. And if they can't fight by words, they fight with fists, and there is a lot of bloody fighting.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, the Hungarian people themselves are opposed generally to any movement of that kind, are they not, in the United States?

Mr. IRSHAY. Those Hungarian people in the United States who have lived here during the war and have become naturalized, they are upholding the American Government in every shape or form; but these newcomers that have come in since the Soviet Government was in existence in Hungary there is a big job for the Immigration Commission, for the United States Government. These are the biggest agitators, because those men who lived here through the war, they know better; they know the actual America; they came over before and got to know the actual America and not the eighteenth amendment America. That is one of their stamping grounds; that is where they start at first. I have to mix up those two ideas, because these Bolsheviks, it may interest the committee to know, these same leaders in Trenton and all around, are distillers and big bootleggers in Trenton, so you can not separate the red Bolshevik from red whisky.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the communist leaders in Trenton?

Mr. IRSHAY. Are the biggest distillers.

The CHAIRMAN. Are bootleggers?

Mr. IRSHAY. Are bootleggers; and are not only bootleggers, but they are in the manufacturing business.

Mr. NELSON. Are the great majority of the Hungarian communists aliens?

Mr. IRSHAY. The great percentage of them are aliens. I should say about 75 per cent of those I followed up are aliens. Those that are American citizens are afraid; they are not so familiar with the law and they are afraid if they come out openly for communism their citizenship papers may be revoked; so even if they are, they keep it to themselves and are very careful in committing themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact is that communism has made considerable inroads among people of Hungarian origin in the country?

Mr. IRSHAY. It is spreading very fast.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is mostly in the last two or three years, is it not?

Mr. IRSHAY. Well, mostly in the last two or three years.

The CHAIRMAN. The increase?

Mr. IRSHAY. The increase; the rapid increase is in the last two or three years, but it started since the Hungarian Government was in the hands of the soviets.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has this Uj Elore been running?

Mr. IRSHAY. That has been running for 25 years.

The CHAIRMAN. For 25 years?

Mr. IRSHAY. It has been a socialist, and since the Soviet Government in Hungary came into existence they went along with the government, and they were the mouth piece, the mouth organ, of the Hungarian Soviet Government when Bela Kun was President. Since that time they were communists; up to that they were revolutionary socialists; they were an Industrial Workers of the World group.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any translation there of particularly revolutionary articles that you would like to submit to the committee, so that the matter could be taken up as to what action should be taken by the committee?

Mr. IRSHAY. Well, Mr. Chairman, when I saw you the other day I telephoned to Trenton to send me such papers, and they got here last night. These are this week's papers, and here is what I have underscored. I read them all up until this morning and underscored everything of interest and value, and I could go to work and translate all this thing, and would be glad to, but I could not accomplish it because the time was too limited. But I have enough material.

Mr. BACHMANN. How would it be to let him translate some of those articles he has reference to and submit them to you, and if you think there is anything that ought to go into the record, put it in?

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would translate one or two of the more radical ones you think the committee should know about and which might affect their recommendation.

Mr. IRSHAY. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not necessary to do it now.

Mr. IRSHAY. Here is one that will interest you especially, as far as the strategic part of their work is concerned:

Our party is directed directly from Russia; it is not from New York. We are now 12 years in existence as the Hungarian Communist Party. We do not call ourselves the Russian Communist Soviet; we are the Hungarian branch of the Hungarian working class and we are fighting ourselves without any outside help. That is why we can not be destroyed. Throughout the world, wherever they are Hungarians, they have pledged allegiance to us and will keep on with the fight.

This is from this week's paper. Here it takes up the Fish commission, giving it half a page:

The Fish commission is connected internationally with the organization of which the Whalen commission was part, Matthew Woll was, and the papal delegate.

I don't know whether they meant the Pope of Rome or some other pope they had in mind. I can not say who this pope is, because it is not spelled with a capital letter, and there may be some other pope.

The Fish commission directs a campaign against soviet America—

Not Soviet Russia, but soviet America—

first of all, from a business point of view. But the Fish commission is not only trying to suppress labor all over the United States but they are directly causing or preparing war with Soviet Russia. The Fish commission has spent months to convince the population of America that the Communist Party is a party of criminals and of gangsters; with this propaganda they prepare to suppress communism in general.

So much for that; but this is the trend, you see. They are doping these people and its readers do not know any better and they take it for a whole lot.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you read another one, it is evident from what you said that a large number of those Hungarians are Catholics.

Mr. IRSHAY. The most of them.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a certain amount of communism in the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church?

Mr. IRSHAY. It is the greatest thing in the world. The Roman Catholic Church in Trenton—I am speaking fearlessly, because I have no fear of contradiction at their hands—the trustee of the St. Stephens Roman Catholic Church of Trenton comes to confession, for instance, whenever he feels he must confess, to Father Sabel, and this blame sheet is sticking out of his pocket.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a Catholic?

Mr. IRSHAY. No, sir; I am a Protestant, but I like them just the same, because I have a great many dealings with them. I am just referring to this particular instance. When a Catholic is a Bolshevik, or red, then I have no mercy for them; but it is not with any idea of prejudice I am speaking when I speak of Catholics. This man is the trustee of this church; he handles all of the money, and there is plenty of money he handles of the church, because it is the biggest Catholic Church in the United States, because it has 3,600 members.

The CHAIRMAN. The biggest Hungarian Catholic Church?

Mr. IRSHAY. The biggest Hungarian Catholic Church in the United States; they claim it is. This man handles all of the money, and he reads this paper, is a faithful reader of the paper, and would not give it up for all of the money in the world. I have asked him several times—I would not mention his name—"How can you reconcile your faithfulness to the Catholic Church and to this sheet?" "Well," he says, "that is nothing; they are preaching good things; the church is preaching good things." "Well," I says, "they are not that kind of good things in themselves that the two, together, would make a better one good thing." I explained it to him in such a manner that he did understand it, that they are entirely opposite. "Well," he says, "our church, after all, is part of that communistic philosophy." Now, then, you go and talk to a man like that. This sheet has made them dizzy all over the United States. I can tell a man if he reads this paper, I can tell him by talking one word to him; I can tell whether he is affected by this or not, because he has a type of thinking, a type of mind which is twisted all the way around.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any suggestions to make to the committee or any recommendation?

Mr. IRSHAY. I have a suggestion to make which I think is a good one. I think this paper, in the first place, should be checked up on and anything that warrants some further action. The suppression of this paper, to about a million people of Hungary, probably, would do them more good than anything else.

Mr. BACHMANN. You mean to stop it from going through the mails, or interstate commerce?

Mr. IRSHAY. Interstate commerce and through the mails. It has been done once, and should be done again, because it is the most dangerous propaganda sheet in the country, admittedly, by far; because their readers are members of churches, and they are breaking up the churches and lodges, or trying to.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is it not true that a good many of your people get the conception, too, that if the Government of the United States permits the United States mail carrier to bring a paper like that to their door, that it is all right?

Mr. IRSHAY. That is what the opinion is of the people. They say "We can become communists, because communist candidates are on the ticket, so the Government O. K.'s it; it is all right. It is a free country." That is the way they are thinking; that is what this paper is preaching. That is one of my suggestions.

The other would be, as I have endeavored to do, if there is any such way, educating these people through the Government Printing Office. The Government Printing Office should, from time to time, or regularly, issue some sort of informative articles, to be broadcast through these lodges and organizations, calling the attention of those people to the danger from every angle if they follow this propaganda up—not antagonizing them, because that would not do much good. They are just like tigers: if they see flesh, they get wild. You should not antagonize them, but only give a lot of information as to the privileges and responsibilities as American citizens, and those that are not American citizens, chase out as far as you can, because they are the trouble makers. There are plenty of reasons in the deportation law. The best thing that could be put across, and I am a believer in it.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the registration of aliens?

Mr. IRSHAY. Positively so. I am a foreign-born man; but I say the most blessed thing in the world—I put up an argument for it, that everybody must be convinced. I was talking this week to an alien—this will interest you, gentlemen—I was talking to a man this week in Trenton that came into the country illegally, yet that man believes in the registration of aliens, and I can produce my man to any committee. He says it is reasonable, and he believes in the registration of aliens. He says, "I could not run around in this country if this country would be Hungary, Germany, or France; I would have to check out in every city I leave at police headquarters." "Now," he says, "if it is all right in Europe, why shouldn't it be all right in America?" That is the greatest argument in the world for the registration of aliens. If anybody says it is not democratic, he does not know what he is talking about.

The CHAIRMAN. In fact, there is not a single civilized country in the world that has not registry for aliens except the United States.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you understand, when you talk about the deportation of aliens, that it is necessary for the Government of the United States first to get the consent of the government to which they are going to deport?

Mr. IRSHAY. I understand that.

Mr. BACHMANN. Before you can deport the alien?

Mr. IRSHAY. Yes, sir; I understand that.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you know it is an expensive proposition to proceed and prepare to deport an alien?

Mr. IRSHAY. But, let him be made to work for it.

Mr. BACHMANN. You know the Government of the United States can not deport an alien to those countries with which we have no diplomatic relations?

Mr. IRSHAY. In this case it would be Hungary, and we have diplomatic dealings with Hungary. But, as far as that is concerned, they should be made to work their way over, or to earn transportation. And if they do not wish—

Mr. BACHMANN. You know, too, in making that recommendation, that all the Government can take care of now, under the present personnel and appropriations, is to deport the aliens that are in the insane asylums and penal institutions?

Mr. IRSHAY. They are sending them in there on purpose to be deported. There is a case in Trenton right now where the father sent his son to the crazy house last week, when he had served the United States Navy with an honorable discharge, because the son stood in the way of the father being a Bolshevik and running around in Trenton, and the father thought him to be undesirable and had him locked up in the State Insane Hospital as insane, which is the outgrowth of communism right along.

Mr. BACHMANN. Right along that line, you suggest that we can better our deportation laws: How can it be done, from your experience?

Mr. IRSHAY. I think the deportation laws should be revised in such a fashion that each State or each county takes into custody those undesirables, and puts them into the workhouse to break stones and earn the money, and, when he has done that, in cooperation with the Government, they can deport him. They should do it, because they are multiplying overnight.

Mr. BACHMANN. For what offense should they be deported?

Mr. IRSHAY. First of all, for treacherous propaganda; next, for this illegal activity they are in. Most of them are in some illegal activity, such as bootlegging, or getting people over from Canada, bootlegging people in from Canada, and they will be intermingled with each other in crooked dealings. A Pennsylvania newspaper writer told me this week it is the hothouse there; that the city of Coatesville has many, many people who have gotten into the country here through some agent that he has in Canada, either in Windsor, Ontario, or Detroit, and brings anyone in—that is the headquarters—and he is giving them jobs in the mill and collecting revenue from them; that most of them go down there because they know they are protected. Now, if the Government don't get after them, they will be an independent republic.

Mr. ESLICK. About what is the population of Trenton?

Mr. IRSHAY. The population of Trenton, according to the last census, is 136,000.

Mr. ESLICK. How many communists do you estimate there are in Trenton?

Mr. IRSHAY. Well, as far as numbers are concerned, visible numbers I can speak of. I should say about 200 I know of who are Hungarian reds; but the invisible are in the majority. That is understood—that there are more invisible ones than visible.

Mr. NELSON. That is, you think there are 200 real reds there in Trenton—Hungarian reds?

Mr. IRSHAY. Hungarian reds that they could check up easy, I think. I should say there are more. There are 600 copies of this paper that come into Trenton every day; so you see, gentlemen, I am very conservative in my suggesting how many. Six hundred copies come into Trenton by mail every day. Now, I take only every third person, because the way he propagates—what he reads in the morning paper, he propagates it in the shops. It could easily be checked up.

Mr. ESLICK. In the last two years, have they increased rapidly?

Mr. IRSHAY. They have. They have increased through this policy to concentrate on the lodges, getting the lodges to be controlled by Bolsheviks.

Mr. ESLICK. Would you say, in the last two years, the communists have doubled in Trenton?

Mr. IRSHAY. More than that.

Mr. ESLICK. More than that?

Mr. IRSHAY. Yes; because it is getting to be a menace there to live among the Hungarians. I happen to live in the American section; I would not live among them, because my little boy told me a little while ago—when I lived in a certain section where they had all kinds of elements—he told me, "Daddy, let us move out of this neighborhood." I said, "Why?" He said, "I don't want to live among foreigners"—my own boy. I said, "What is the trouble with living among foreigners?" He told me why; he gave me the reasons why, showing that an American-born child, if he is intelligent, right now realizes there is a menace to that child's future. And that is why. There are a lot of things that can be brought up.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(The following papers were submitted for the record by Mr. Irshay:)

TRENTON, N. J., December 21, 1930.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH, M. C.,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN FISH: Inclosed please find translation of several articles and extracts from the Uj Előre, the Hungarian communist daily. It seems to me that there is enough treason in these articles to warrant action against the publishers by the Government.

You will be interested to know that as I returned to Trenton from Washington, the reds around here got busy and sent threats of various sorts to me by way of warning. One of the largest dried fruit and hop, malt and sugar merchants, who took my testimony very much to his heart, and who is supplying many or most of the distillers with "stuff," got real scared reading the newspaper account of my testimony before your committee.

I shall continue to be on guard against the menace which is agitating many a patriotic American at present.

Wishing you, Congressman, and the other members of the committee continued success in this direction, and hoping to be of future service in this connection, I wish to remain, with sincerest best wishes of the season,

Faithfully yours,

ANDREW IRSHAY.

[From the Uj Előre Hungarian communist newspaper, December 16, 1930]

Our party is no longer directed by foreign influence, and our battles are now being waged by our own people. On this twelfth anniversary of the founding of Hungarian communism we can boast with leadership of our own people, chosen from our own midst. And this is the reason why we are indestructible. The Communist International is hopeful of victory which will restore the second Hungarian Soviet republic.

[Same organ, December 12]

The counter-revolutionary Industrial Party of Moskau had its trial recently which reaffirmed the belief of the class-conscious workers the world over whereby the imperialistic governments are determined to make war with Soviet Russia with France as the leader. It was discovered that such war is planned to commence during the year of 1931 with the participation of American capitalists, Admiral Pratt, Secretary Wilbur, and Secretary Hyde, of the Hoover Cabinet, in their recent public utterances have indicated that this war organization is being sponsored by the American Government. Even the Fish commission is in closest cooperation with this international war-making conspiracy. The Fish commission has been leading an aggressive campaign against Soviet-American commercial relations. The Fish commission is not only determined to subdue American labor, but also prepares for war against the Soviet Union. The Fish commission spent months to convince the people that the Communist Party is composed of criminals and terrorists. This was done in order to discredit the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is preparing the workers of America for the day when the majority (workers) shall rule over the minority, and the capitalistic government will have to play its last trump card, war. The communists are preparing for the proletarian revolution in accordance with the principles laid down in the declaration of independence whereby it becomes the duty of the workers to remove the government in order to set up a more safe and secure rule for the workers' protection. The future security of the working class lies only in the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship and the setting up of a soviet government.

[News item, same, December 15]

RED NEWSPAPER BUILDING CLUBS ORGANIZED

In order to raise the circulation of the Daily Worker to 60,000 paid copies, there are being formed in New York City and other sections of the country red newspaper building clubs. In this campaign we find the workers of every nationality participating. Hungarians should do their part as they must realize that it is as important to spread this revolutionary newspaper amongst the native-born Americans as it is to spread the Uj Előre in the Hungarian communities. Only the Daily Worker writes the truth in the language of the country. Let us acquaint our children with this (Daily Worker) revolutionary newspaper so that they learn the truth from the workers' own organ and not from the capitalistic newspapers which only infects their mind with the poisonous stories of malice and hate which they spread. We should train our children in class conscious manner lest they turn against us on the picket line or on our war front. The best method in training our children thus is by giving them the Daily Worker.

CALL FOR MOBILIZATION TO WHITE AND BLACK WORKERS—NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN

Fellow workers, remember that the bosses and the Government are out to defeat you and destroy the lives of the 9,000,000 of unemployed workers of America. They are determined to annihilate you before you have won the battle of freedom by way of starving you out. But the bosses shall not succeed. Workers, you must unite in order to defeat your oppressors, such as Cable, Aswell, Blease, and the Fish committee, with their proposed legislation whereby you would be discriminated against in many ways. They want such laws as alien registration, finger printing, and mass deportation. * * * The number of negroes lynched, burned at stake, and hanged increases daily in the South and throughout the West. And if these bosses would succeed in subduing the 50,000,000 of foreign born by terrorizing them into submission, the negroes would be open to any sort of cruelty at the hands of the capitalistic Government. The watchword of the bosses is: Divide them and rule over them. Against this we should choose the following watchword: Unite and fight.

Our mission is as follows: We must mobilize the many hundreds of thousands of white and negro workers throughout the United States of America and join the local branches of the league for protection of the foreign born. If we present a solid front at the time these above-stated measures are introduced in Congress, then we will be ready for the struggle against those discriminatory laws, either through mass demonstrations or otherwise. You should demand that all laws be repealed which tend to discriminate against the foreign-born worker, no matter in what way that affects the alien. Organize protest meetings and mass demonstrations at every opportunity, and especially when some one is to be deported. Protest against deportation of aliens! Whenever some one's naturalization papers are revoked stage a large demonstration in front of the courthouse where such an act was committed. Demand freedom and security for all political refugees in the United States. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. I have some papers here which I desire to submit to the committee and take up with them whether they should go into the record. Here is a statement I believe would be very helpful, taken as a translation from a Russian paper here called "The New Russian Word," by a former Chekist leader, one of the leading men, by the name of Agabekoff. I know about Agabekoff: I know people who know him very well. I read this last night very carefully, and it is a complete history written by him about six months ago about the life of the G. P. U., and his entire history of all the different sections, the American section, and it is very interesting. I think it would be very helpful to have it in the record, not as being responsible for the translation, but I know the man who wrote it is one of the leading Chekists who left them about six months ago.

Mr. BACHMANN. Let us put it in for what it is worth.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any objection?

Mr. NELSON. You say it purports to be a translation?

The CHAIRMAN. From an article written by G. Agabekoff, formerly a leader of the Russian G. P. U.

Mr. NELSON. And published in The New Russian Word of October 13, 1930, New York City?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The paper above referred to is as follows:)

THE G. P. U., FORMERLY THE CHEKA, THE SECRET POLICE OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT

[Novoye Russkoye Slovo, The New Russian Word, October 13, 1930, New York City (a liberal Russian Newspaper)]

O. G. P. U.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CHEKIST, G. AGABEKOFF

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE OGPU

The united state political department (O. G. P. U. or OGPU) is the most important department of the Soviet system, occupying the entire block between Bolshey and Maly Lubianka.

THE BUILDING AT LUBIANKA

The chief building faces Lubiansky Square, in the back of which is the OGPU "territory" extending to the "Select Hotel" on Srentenka. Houses on Vershoffevsky and Milutinsky Place are occupied by commune barracks for its workers. Thus the entire area between Lukianka and Srentenka is in fact under the control of the OGPU.

About 2,500 persons work in the central department of the OGPU. Only 1,500 of them are communists; the remainder are members of the Communist

Youth League and nonparty people. The nonparty people, of course, occupy the lower positions—women typists, head office workers, etc.

The OGPU is divided into the following departments: The intelligence service (KRO), the foreign department (INC), the secret department (SO), the special department (OO), the extra special department (SPEKO), the department of economics (EKU), the information department (INFO), the oriental department (VO), the frontier service (PO), and the executive and organization department.

OGPU CHIEFS AND WORKERS

Menjinsky is the head of the OGPU, as is known. He has no prestige either in the party's central committee or in the politbureau. He is always sick. He seldom meddles with the affairs of the internal department of the OGPU, reducing his functions as president solely to presiding over the OGPU in the central committee (organ of the Soviet Government).

Menjinsky has two assistants. His first assistant, Yagoda, practically controls the entire OGPU.

YAGODA

Yagoda is a man with an iron will, greedy for power, who would stop at nothing to gain his ends. He is rough and uncultured. His servility to the members of the politbureau, his personal services to Stalin, and his skill in intrigue, of which he is a master, are what keep him in office. Yagoda discovers possible rivals in time and takes prompt measures to eliminate them. Trilisser, the second assistant to the president of the OGPU, was his latest victim.

Yagoda gains his ends easily and feels secure in his position. He has surrounded himself with devoted people, ready for anything. His secretary, Shamin, a jack of all trades, is one of these flunkys. In order to gain Yagoda's favor he often arranges orgies with wine and women. The girls for these parties are recruited from the Communist Youth League.

Yagoda is the boss in complete control of the OGPU. He is not only the first assistant to the president, but also the head of the secret executive department, which embraces all the departments of the OGPU except the foreign department, the frontier department, and the special department. The board of the OGPU is composed of the heads of the departments, the president of the OGPU, and his two assistants.

What are the functions of the OGPU departments?

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE SERVICE

The intelligence service department carries on within the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, a fighting foreign espionage and counterrevolutionary outbreaks. The field of this department is also the foreign legations in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. It carries on intelligence service in them, procuring information and documents. This department has a numerous personnel. All the hotel managers and the managers of the movies and the theaters are its agents.

The intelligence service department, or, in brief, KRO, has agents in all soviet departments, and receives data daily from its agents concerning what is going on. It also supplies house workers, maids, cooks, chauffeurs, etc., for the foreign legations, and through them obtains all kinds of data, at the same time recruiting for this service other employees of the foreign legations. Olsky is at the head of the KRO. He is about 35 years of age, a devoted adherent of Yagoda.

The department is subdivided into several branches, each taking care of its own particular work. So the first branch of the KRO carries on shadowing in hotels, theaters, and restaurants. It also opens intercepted mail, mostly the diplomatic mail of the foreign legations, which somehow finds its way into the OGPU. The second and third branches are occupied with work of fighting espionage by the neighboring Baltic countries; the third branch, for instance, lured Savinkov and others to Russia. The fourth branch fights espionage by the oriental countries; the fifth, Anglo-American espionage, etc. Every branch has its own personnel, unknown to the personnel of the other branches.

THE SECRET DEPARTMENT

The secret department (SO) carries on the work of fighting political parties inimical to communism, fights certain tendencies within the Communist Party itself, and it fights religion and carries on work to corrupt it.

The work with the clergy is assigned to the sixth branch of the SO, and the famous Tuchkov is in charge.

The secret department, like all the rest of them, is divided into branches with strictly defined functions. Deribas, the head of the department, an old member of the party, is interested most of all in the factions within the party, hoping to make capital of them, and to be promoted to the post of second assistant to the president of the OGPU.

THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

The department of economics (EKU) carries on work in the industrial, trade, and financial institutions of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, exposing mismanagement and reasons for not carrying out plans, as well as fighting economic espionage in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Prokofiev is the head of the department.

INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

The information department (INFO) keeps track of the movements in every stratum of the public and maintains an enormous staff of secret informers. The same department has the rôle of censor of literary and theatrical productions, and censors all the mail. Alexeyev, a former anarchist, who joined the Communist Party in 1920, I think, is the head. Alexeyev works for work's sake, but does not enjoy the confidence of the presidium of the OGPU. One of the most trustworthy members of the party is always with him as his assistant. One Zaporozhetz, a tested Checkist, Trilisser's former assistant in the foreign department, is such a "guardian angel" at the present time. This Zaporozhetz became famous because during Pethura's occupation he got into the good graces of the head of Pethura's troops, and was at one time his personal adjutant.

THE SPECIAL DEPARTMENT

The special department (OO) keeps track of the army and navy. The GPU is always well informed as to the moods of the army through its army commissars and political advisers, whose duty it is to inform this department. The OO also inspects the supplying of the army and watches over the protection of the army warehouses. Yagoda himself is the head of this department, but Olsky, the head of the KRO, is practically in charge of it.

THE ORIENTAL DEPARTMENT

The oriental department (VO) carries on work in the oriental national republics (Soviet T) and among oriental national groups. Peters is the nominal head, but practically the work is controlled by one Diakov.

THE EXTRA-SPECIAL DEPARTMENT

The extra-special department (SPEKO) works to protect State secrets from being learned by foreigners, for which purpose it has a staff of agents watching over the system of filing secret papers. Another important task of this department is the interception of foreign codes and the reading of code telegrams from abroad. It also composes codes for the Soviet departments within the country and abroad.

The men occupied with these codes attached to any department are under the direct control of the extra-special department. The extra-special department carries on work of reading codes splendidly, and compiles weekly a list of foreign code telegrams it has read for the information of the heads of the GPU departments, as well as for the members of the central committee.

TRULISSER

Messing, formerly a full-fledged representative of the OGPU in Petrograd, was, until recently, head of the foreign department (INO) and second assistant to the president of the OGPU. The foreign department is occupied with foreign countries alone. It has its semiofficial representatives in every legation and important consulate, to whom aides are sometimes assigned. These representatives, or GPU residents, occupy mostly the post of second secretary or attaché at the legations but at times take positions in trade or other economic institutions abroad.

The work of the foreign department is to give information about the political and economic situation in foreign countries, to procure all sorts of documents of value to the Soviet Government, to discover the intelligence service men of other countries sent into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to inform about the life of the emigres, to corrupt their organizations, etc. Besides the above-mentioned specific tasks this department must also carry on the foreign work assigned to it by other departments of the OGPU. In addition it must keep track of the activities of soviet citizens abroad as well as of the soviet diplomatic and trade bodies.

LEGAL AND UNDERGROUND LEGATIONS

Besides the above-mentioned official representatives the foreign department has its "underground staff" abroad working under assumed names and using false passports. All these secret "underground" residents enjoy special privileges and confidence. Their chief task is to take root in this or that country, to make connections and to strengthen their position so much that it would be possible to continue their work even in case of war, and the deportation of their official representatives. The sending of underground residents began about two years ago, when the analysis of the situation abroad convinced Moscow that war is unavoidable. Since then "underground" residents have become entrenched in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Irak, and in western countries. The GPU agents sent abroad on such a basis do not keep in touch with official soviet representatives.

THE GPU'S BASEMENTS

It is needless to dwell on the other departments, for they all play secondary rôles except the executive department, which controls the staff assigned to investigation work. Usually any department interested in the activities of this or that person asks the executive department to investigate and the department does the work. The executive department commands the garrison troops. The garrison troops make arrests, search, and shoot to death those sentenced in special basements under the GPU's buildings.

These basements are under GPU prisons and are closely watched by special troops of the Red Army. Without a real reason and a special permit none of the agents is permitted to enter the prison court, even.

CONSPIRATIVE WORK

The OGPU departments are divided into several branches. As a rule one department must not know what the other does. Even the branches of the same department must not disclose their activities to each other.

The OGPU has full-fledged agencies in all the national republics and in all important centers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. These agencies are organized after the Moscow pattern, only on a smaller scale. Instead of departments these are branches—extension branches of the Moscow departments. These full-fledged agencies controlled by Moscow have in their turn the extension branches in the regional, provincial, and township centers on a still smaller scale.

I have dwelt at length on the organization of the OGPU, so that the reader could grasp its entire structure, without which it is impossible to visualize this tremendous machinery, the work of which is not disclosed to the other departments of the Soviet Government, and which carries on conspirative

work even within its own walls. Glancing at its organizational plan, the reader can see that every department has its own independent network of secret agents. It is easy to believe, then, that there are more than 10,000 secret agents in Moscow alone. Through these people the OGPU controls not only the routine work of all the institutions and concerns but also the private life of every outstanding citizen, not to speak of foreigners, who are watched even more closely than the others.

Besides all this it is necessary to remember that the police and the criminal investigation departments are aiding the OGPU and that, according to Leninist biddings, "every communist must be a checkist." Every communist, every member of the Communist Youth League, nay, every "class-conscious" citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics who learns or hears anything against the interests of the Soviet Government is bound by duty to inform the OGPU. There are hundreds of thousands of such volunteer informers in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. They either believe that they ought to aid the OGPU or simply cultivate good relationships with the OGPU, for only thus can they count on a quiet, safe existence. So the seed sown by Dzerjinsky 12 years ago bears the fruit of universal espionage; the son betrays the father, the sister betrays the brother.

MANUFACTURING FALSE PASSPORTS

The third task of the special department is the supervision of jails and prisons throughout the Soviet Union. A special police, which fabricates all sorts of documents for this or that purpose necessary in the work of the OGPU (passports, false certificates, etc.), is attached to this department.

BORKY

Borky, a former political representative of the cheka, who literally terrorized Turkestan in 1911-1920, is the head of the department. Even now, after 10 years, such stories are circulated about him in Turkestan as that he eats raw dog flesh and drinks human blood. Despite of the fact that Borky is only the head of a department, he reports directly to the party's central committee and has a tremendous prestige in the OGPU.

VELEJEV—VEDERNIKOV

The frontier department (PO) has the special troops of the OGPU under its command, as well as the frontier troops, and it carries on a fight against smuggling. All customhouses are required to be in close contact with the PO, and in fact are practically under its control. Velejev, the head of this department, was formerly Trileser's aide in the foreign department. It was he who under the assumed name of Vedernikov went to Bizerta in 1924 to receive Wrangel's fleet, and afterwards lived in China under the same name, being one of the leaders of the Chinese revolution and an organizer of the work of the OGPU.

NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO, THE NEW RUSSIAN VOICE—HOW THE OGPU INTERCEPTS THE ENGLISH MAIL

Besides this, the tasks was assigned to me of organizing the network of the OGPU in Beluchistan and of finding ways of penetration into India.

WITH WHAT WAS THE TEHERAN TRADE DELEGATION OCCUPIED?

* * * * *

One Demnitzsky, an old Chekist, was head of the trade delegation.

Within a month, thanks to Demnitzky's trade relations, Persian business men in Meshed, the Gardgewees, Sadry-Tufar, Dannish, and a number of others were recruited. They procured information necessary to us and introduced us to men we needed. Just at this time negotiations for a trade agreement between the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and Persia were going on. The Persian Government in its desire to gain concessions from the Soviet

Government organized "an economic boycott" hindering the export of Persian goods to the soviet market. A campaign to influence public opinion along this line was carried on in which Englishmen played a considerable rôle, according to the information of our agents. It was necessary to disorganize the boycotting group. For this purpose we used the above mentioned business men. In accordance with our orders they instigated some to break the law, bought others and thus demoralized the camp fighting against us.

At the very peak of the boycott movement, thanks to the aid of the same business men, we recruited Sadri-Tujar, one of the active leaders of the anti-soviet movement. For this work we paid business men not in money but by concessions, permitting the profitable importation of this or that sort of goods into the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The City of Meshed is the religious center of the Mahomedan Shiah sect.

Naturally, we directed our work along this line, recruiting agents among the mullahs for the same political purposes. The same Sadri-Tujar helped us very much also in this enterprise. His task was relatively easy, because he was a son-in-law of Aga-Zadi, the chief of the mullahs. Sadri-Tujar carried out our orders through Aga Zadi. For instance, during the economic boycott it was important for us that the business men of Meshed should themselves send to the Persian Government a demand to enter into a trade agreement with the U. S. S. R. This telegram to Persian Government was supposed to express the independent opinion of business men. Aga-Zadi sponsored the sending of three such telegrams, and the cost of it was the permit to import 500 "cubes of Persian tea into the U. S. S. R.

EMIGRE KROUGLOV

One Krouglov, an emigre, was sent from Meshed as a representative of the OGPU to the region of Budjourda. To him was assigned the task of informing as to the moods of Turkoman tribes. For this work he was promised political amnesty in the name of the Soviet Government and the reestablishment of his rights as a soviet citizen.

AN AGENT OF THE OGPU IN PRIESTLY ROBES

A considerable amount of thinking was done in the GPU's foreign department before the solution was found to the problems of Tabriz and India. Archbishop Kletchian, an agent of the OGPU for about two years, was living in France. At the end of 1928 Kletchian, provided with money, came to Moscow to see me. I explained the matter to him. He proposed the following plan: He would go to Erivan to see Catholicos (the Patriarch of Armenia, T.) and Catholicos under the pressure of the OGPU would ordain him a bishop and afterwards appoint him legate to Persia, where he had formerly lived and where he still had many connections. But Kletchian left his mistress in France. The OGPU would give him one of its representatives as his secretary who at the same time would pass for the fiancee of Kletchian's mistress and thus cover up the bishop's affair. Kletchian guaranteed that being assigned to Persia he would be able to help dismiss Bishop Nercis from Tabriz. It would be possible to appoint Bishop Mesrer from Ispahan in Nercis' place, while he, Kletchian, would be head of the diocese of Indo-Persia, and thus the organization of the network of the OGPU in India would be assured.

During the preliminary talks and later when we approached the question of payment I gained the impression that Kletchian was a scoundrel. He differed from the ordinary rascal only by being a priest and by selling his services at a higher price. Kletchian received 200 dollars a month from the OGPU. According to the latest dispatches Kletchian accomplished the first part of his program—that is, he became archbishop and is legate of the Catholicos of the Armenian Church in Teheran. We will see what he will do now.

WORK OF THE GPU IN TEHERAN—WORK AMONG EMIGRES IN PARIS

The GPU agents working in the Dashnak Party, among the Mussavists and Georgian Mensheviks (anti-Bolshevik organizations, T.) as well as intercepted documents showed more and more frequently that Paris is the center of the above-mentioned organizations. It was necessary to transfer part of our work in the Orient to Paris. This was insisted upon especially by the Caucasian GPU, which demanded from Moscow the intensification of work in this direction.

In 1925 Moscow called the Checkist Lordkinidze from Tiflis and directed him to Paris, instructing him to penetrate into the antisoviet organizations.

* * * * *

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE BOARD OF ENVOYS

In the spring of 1929 Melzer, the head of the Anglo-American branch of the foreign department of the OGPU, was sent from Moscow to Tashkent to organize a foreign branch in the full-fledged section of the GPU in Central Asia. Because of his absence I had to supervise the work of the section. Among the materials from abroad my attention was drawn to the correspondence between Gheers, the chairman of the board of former Russian envoys, and this former representative of czarist Russia. Agents of the OGPU would intercept and send to Moscow the reports of Sablin, former Russian representative in London, and of Ughet, former Russian financial agent in America. At that time Sablin in his reports was describing election campaign in England and was analyzing the chances of the English parties. He foresaw the victory of the Labor Party which advanced the slogans of doing away with unemployment and resuming diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. Sablin's reports were of enormous interest to the Soviet Government. We had orders to send copies of these direct to Stalin, Rykov, Tchicherin, Voroshilov, and Molotov. The Soviet Government had great hopes of the victory of the Labor Party. It was believed in Moscow that with MacDonald in power not only would the severe diplomatic relations be reestablished but also it would be possible to secure extensive credits in Europe.

* * * * *

THE CHEKIST CHATZKY

One Chatzky was the GPU first resident in America and lived there up to 1929. In 1929 he returned to Moscow and at the present time is in charge of the Anglo-American branch of the foreign department of the GPU.

Inasmuch as there is not yet a soviet legation in America, Chatzky went there as an Amtorg worker. His task in America was to familiarize himself with the attitude of the Government of the United States of America toward the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and to endeavor to influence American public men and if possible members of the Government—that is, to have them assent to the official recognition of the Soviet Government.

It is difficult for me to say whether Chatzky was successful or not in his endeavors, but on his arrival in Moscow he was much praised by those higher up.

REPORTS OF THE BRITISH ENVOY

Reports of the English envoy to Washington as to the activities of the American Government were a permanent source of information to the GPU. It is necessary to say that at the service of the foreign department of the OGPU there were reports of almost all the English representative abroad—envoys accredited to foreign governments and commissioners to the countries under British protectorates. I was convinced of this many times. English diplomats without their knowledge rendered valuable service to the Soviet Government through their detailed reports to the foreign office. In connection with events in Afghanistan and Persia I often received assignments to compile a paper on this problem "according to English data." I would go to the files of the foreign

department of the GPU and would take the reports of the Operator B-3, who systematically conveyed to us the reports of the English envoys to the Foreign Office. The reports of British diplomats accumulated in 1929 occupied a whole big closet in the OGPU. Among them I also found reports of envoys of all countries of the world and I would take those concerning the country which interested me.

CORRESPONDENCE OF UGHET

Ughet, the representative of the old Russian department of finance, was also a useful source of information serving to familiarize us with the internal situation in the United States. He reported systematically and in detail concerning the economic and political situation of the country in his letters to Gheers, the former Czarist diplomat in Paris. These letters were intercepted and copies of them were sent to the OGPU.

AMERICAN PASSPORTS

America occupied an exceptionally important place in the work of the comintern, although the GPU paid comparatively little attention to the country. Almost all the representatives of the Third International travel abroad with American passports, which give them entrance into all countries and permit them to carry on communistic work without arousing suspicion. I have already mentioned that Pyanitzky, in charge of the liaison department of the Third International, considered that the easiest and most convenient way to send Roy, the communist, clandestinely to India would be through America with an American passport. Bucharin, who at that time was the president of the Communist International, held American passports in the same high esteem. Once in 1927, in the office of Trilisser, the head of the foreign department, Goldstein, resident of the GPU in Germany, Velejev, Trilisser's assistant, and I came together. The problem of sending GPU workers to Irak was being discussed. At this moment Bucharin arrived to see Trilisser. To Bucharin's question whether or not he was intruding, Trilisser replied that quite to the contrary, inasmuch as we were discussing the problem of sending GPU workers clandestinely to oriental countries, we would hear with great pleasure Bucharin's opinion as to the ways of sending them. Bucharin replied that he was not acquainted with the technique of such trips, this being Piatnizky's business, but in the comintern American passports are considered the best guarantee of safety for the trips of communists abroad.

G. AGABEKOV.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter from the chief of police of Seattle, dated November 4, giving the names of the Russian communists connected with the Amtorg and the communist leaders in Seattle, which he promised to send us.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is the same chief of police who was on the stand at Seattle?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. It is short and quite interesting; just gives the names and the positions they hold.

(The paper above referred to is as follows:)

CITY OF SEATTLE, WASH., DEPARTMENT OF POLICE.

November 4, 1930.

Mr. HAMILTON FISH, Jr.,

Chairman Special Committee to Investigate Communist Propaganda.

SIR: Since your committee's meeting in Seattle I have continued with investigations of the communistic activities in this city and have discovered evidence which I believe should be laid before you in order that you may keep informed on conditions as they progress here.

You will find inclosed reports, which I am absolutely certain are correct in every detail.

I also wish to inform you, although the information may already be in your hands, of reasonable evidence in connecting the Amtorg Trading Corporation with political influences of the Soviet Government of Russia.

I particularly call your attention to a man by name A. Bogdanoff, formerly the manager for the Amtorg in the city of Seattle. Just after your committee met in Seattle he hurriedly left Seattle, going to Mexico, and a man by name of N. Sverdloff was appointed manager of the Seattle branch of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, with offices at room 718, Smith Tower Building, Seattle. This man arrived from Moscow, Russia, not so very long ago. You will also find inclosed in these reports names and descriptions of prominent communists in the Seattle section.

Hoping this information will be of some value to you, I am,

Yours very truly,

LOUIS J. FORBES, *Chief of Police.*

Names and addresses of members of the Communist International in Seattle, Wash.

1. N. Sverdloff, vice president of the Amtorg Trading Corporation (manager of Seattle branch office), room 718, Smith Tower, Seattle. Lately appointed and arrived from Moscow, Russia. Took place of A. Bogdanoff, who left Seattle immediately after congressional committee commenced investigation of communist activities in the United States. Member of the Communist Party and OGPU in Moscow. Residence ———.

2. Belsky Peter, inspector of Amtorg in Seattle, member of Communist Party. In charge of general information section, OGPU (clearing house). Residence: City directory shows R-4327, Ninth Avenue NE. Very active in propaganda. (Russian.)

3. Paul Umoff, inspector of Amtorg in Seattle, although he maintains separate office at the White Building as a broker, room 666. Member of the Communist Party; OGPU (clearing house in Seattle). Residence: 2221 Thirty-second Avenue South. Very active in directing general propaganda. Keeps office at the White Building as disguise and fense against his activity and connections with the Amtorg. (Russian.)

4. Leon Glaser, officially in the pay roll of local Amtorg as an interpreter, but in reality member of the Communist Party; OGPU; in charge of the propaganda section; chairman of the special committee to fight against combinations hostile to the Soviet Union (in every respect). Greatly praised by ZIK, Communist Party, for his bold antigovernment, provocative, street, and club public speeches. Occupation, tailor; residence, 2615 East Pine Street, or 1529 Twenty-seventh Avenue, Seattle. Organized in Seattle, according to orders from headquarters in New York, two organizations: (1) Friends of Soviet Government; (2) Technical Aid to the Soviet Government. In both organizations he is chairman. Nominated as a prospective Soviet consul general in Seattle in case of recognition by United States of America.

5. C. J. Lapidewsky, physician and surgeon; member of Communist Party. Ex-Russian anarchist, escaped from Russia in 1910. In 1917 joined the Communist Party. Has direct connection with Moscow. Chairman of communist international committee in Seattle. Also directs general propaganda and demonstrations. Residence: 3040 Twenty-fourth Street West, Seattle, and business office, Stimson Building. Keeps all the secret documents and instructions received from headquarters in New York and Mexico City. His immediate chief is Comrade Ziankin, in New York City, who is the chief operative OGPU for North America.

6. Keltner (Netty) (Libby), (woman dentist), member of Communist Party. Secretary-treasurer of the communist international committee, Seattle; F of USSR and TI to USSR; Russian Literary-Dramatic Society. Residence: 420 North Forty-ninth Street; office, 3419 Fremont Avenue.

7. Baumzwieger August (woman dentist), member of Communist Party. In charge of all the communist literature coming from New York, Mexico City, and Vladivostok, Siberia. Residence: 200 Eighteenth Avenue.

8. M. Maine, member of Communist Party. On the pay roll of local Amtorg. Personal friend of Sverdloff. His official standing not known. Address not known.

9. Leon G. Gershevich, member of Communist Party, Communist International. Chief inspector of Amtorg in United States. All goods bought in Pacific Northwest subject to his personal approval. From 1922 till 1928 he was employed as bread peddler-driver by the Breaner Bakery Co., (Eighteenth and Yesler). He is official courier between Seattle and New York City. Residence: 2717 Yesler Way. Also he has a residence in New York City. He was appointed to this high office directly by the Soviet Government. Personal friend of Mr. Lapidewsky. Member of OGPU in America. Importing motion pictures for propaganda purposes directly from Moscow.

10. Aron Leaf (dentist), member of Communist Party and Communist International. Active in propaganda among the medical societies. Attends all party meetings. In 1928 attempted to obtain American citizenship, but United States Government refused to grant it to him. He was charged as to have been in constant correspondence with the Soviet Government and fund of communist literature. Residence: 3534 Thirty-sixth Avenue NE.; office, Medical Building.

11. Alex Achieff (wife Natalie), chairman of the Russian section of the Communist International in Seattle. Keeps and distributes general communist literature among the members and sympathizers. Residence: 1116 East Cherry Street.

12. Mahamed Zagsutoff, member of the Communist Party and STI to USSR; very active in propaganda section. Fanatically believes in communism. Communist Party intending to use him as "racketeer" when it will be necessary. Residence not known. Personal friend of A. Achieff. (Will kill.)

13. Chaika Michal, member of Communist Party and STI to USSR; very active in propaganda. He is always seen together with Zagoutoff and Achieff. Residence not known.

14. S. H. Gorny, chairman of parish council of the Seattle Russian Church, 753 Lakeview Boulevard; chairman of the Russian Literary Dramatic Society; member of the FSSR and TI to USSR, secret agent of OGPU in Seattle. He renders very valuable service to Communist Party, as he is at the head of the Russian Church organization, the members of which are all white refugees, and they are considered very active now against the soviet propaganda here. Residence: 308 Twenty-ninth Avenue. Employed by the Boeing Airplane Co.

15. Gertzman, Minnie, member of FSU, STI to USSR and Russian Literary-Dramatic Society. Very active in collecting money for Communist Party, to use as bail when necessary. Residence: 2322 Twelfth Avenue North.

16. Natalie Notkin (woman), member of Communist International; STI to USSR, and F of USSR. Manager of foreign books in Seattle Public Library. Keeps and distributes communist books among Russians (soviet sympathizers) with propaganda purpose. These communist books are imported directly from Moscow or Berlin, Germany. Very active in propaganda among all classes, as she mingles and has contact with different society leaders. Residence: 1307 East Forty-first Street, Seattle.

17. Gregory Bookanoff, member of F of USSR and STI to USSR, assistant to N. Notkin, to distribute the communist books among the Russian colony and Finns. Residence: 605½ Eastlake Avenue, Apartment E.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS J. FORBES, *Chief of Police.*

The CHAIRMAN. Then here is a letter from District Attorney George H. Johnson.

Mr. BACUMANN. Of San Bernardino County?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; giving us some information that was asked for by the committee in regard to the use of the red flag, and so forth.

(The paper above referred to is as follows:)

COUNTY OF SAN BERNARDINO,
San Bernardino, Calif., October 14, 1930.

HON. HAMILTON FISH,
Chairman Communist Investigating Committee,
United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the recent session of your committee which was held in Los Angeles I testified regarding the prosecution of some communists who had been conducting a summer camp or training school for Young Pioneers. In the course of my testimony attention was directed to section 403a of the Penal Code of California, which was the section under which the defendants were prosecuted, and which section, for the information of yourself and the other members of the committee, reads as follows:

"USE OF RED FLAG PROHIBITED

"Any person who displays a red flag, banner, or badge, or any flag, badge, banner, or device of any color or form whatever in any public place or in any meeting place or public assembly, or from or on any house, building, or window as a sign, symbol, or emblem of opposition to organized government or as an invitation or stimulus to anarchistic action or an aid to propaganda that is of a seditious character is guilty of a felony."

From some of the questions asked by members of the committee, and the general investigation being conducted by the committee, I concluded that it might be recommended by the committee that such a section as the statute referred to might be recommended to Congress among other matters, as the result of the investigation of the committee. For that reason I thought it might not be out of the way for me to venture the suggestion that the only question regarding the validity or constitutionality of section 403a, supra, rises because of a possible question as to whether that section goes so far as to denounce any activity, whether by peaceful means or otherwise, which might tend to do or bring about the things covered by the section. In other words, we must concede that it is within the province and constitutional right of any person or group of persons to advocate a change in the form of government, providing such change and such advocacy is by peaceful means, to wit, the ballot, and not by violent means such as a revolution. A reading of section 403a, supra, will disclose, on first thought, some question as to whether or not that section denounces opposition to organized government or an invitation or stimulus to anarchistic action or as an aid to propaganda that is of a seditious character by revolutionary means only. On closer consideration, however, the wording of the statute itself tends to disclose that it seeks to denounce such things only when they are accomplished or advocated by force and violence, such as a revolution.

With the experience which we have had in mind, therefore, under the prosecution in this State, which is the only one involving these questions and the only one so far as I have ascertained coming under section 403a, it seems to me that some enactment along the line of section 403a, supra, might very well be enacted by Congress among other provisions on this question. If such an enactment is recommended by the committee, I respectfully suggest that the same should make it more definite and distinct that the action denounced is such as is based on force and violence. The attempt to change the government by force and violence as well as the advocacy of such theories, it seems to me, could very well be prohibited without interfering with any constitutional rights.

I have heard the expression since the prosecution under section 403a has been pending, that the right of freedom of speech is being interfered with. In this connection it seems preposterous that a person who actually assassinates a public official, or burns, or otherwise destroys a public building, may be prosecuted and punished for such offense, while the person who furnishes the

stimulus and creates the desire and the inclination to do such things, can not be reached. In this State a statute has recently been enacted by the legislature which makes it a felony for one person to solicit another person to commit a felony, even though the felony is not accomplished, and I know of no constitutional objection to such legislation.

I am offering my observations for whatever use the committee may have for them, and if there is any further information or assistance that yourself or any member of the committee feels that I might be able to furnish, I will be pleased to have you call upon me.

If the proceedings of the committee at Los Angeles, Calif., are printed and for distribution at a later date, I will greatly appreciate the receipt of a copy of the same.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE H. JOHNSON,
District Attorney.

(The committee thereupon adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.)

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